Overlapping Spaces; the politics of REDD in action

An anthropological account from the Bolivian Amazon

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Abstract

As an attempt to mitigate climate change REDD (Reducing Emissions from forest Degradation and Deforestation) has become one of the most preached but also one of the most contested measures discussed in the international climate talks. As 17 % of the global greenhouse gas emissions are a result of deforestation, action is urgent. This study wishes to present practices and relations in a NGO-initiated sub-national REDD pilot project in the Bolivian Amazon. The study is based on 5 months of multi-sited fieldwork in the Bolivian lowlands.

This thesis demonstrates how the initiating NGO, the indigenous peoples' movement and local government representatives interpret and act in the face of this international climate change mitigation mechanism. I see these processes through the lens of spaces and landscapes defined by Tilley, and scale-making and place-making defined by Tsing. Specifically, the thesis explores how social and material realities are simplified through a range of different activities by the defined actors to become scaled and subdued to an overarching REDD agenda. By looking at remote sensing, maps and map-making I try to unveil the process of making specific configurations of scale; how spaces and landscapes are turned into manageable places. I also try to unveil the terms and preconditions for which the different actors enter into relations that are necessary to establish the platforms of collaboration that make up the REDD pilot project.

Finally, by using the example of the lowland indigenous movement in Bolivia's preparation and participation in Rio+20, I look at a message's ability to travel across landscapes. I analyze the message through two imperative traits pinpointed by Tsing and her perspective on political messages as packages; their capacity to be mobile, and to mobilize. I suggest that to make a message mobile and to make it mobilize the same message gets different, and possibly also logically incompatible, articulations across different political and ecological landscapes and scales. This experience may be transferred to REDD.

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Acronyms

ABT	Autoridad de fiscalización y control social de Bosques y Tierra (The Authorities for taxation and social control of Forests and Land)
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism
CIDOB	Confederación de Pueblos Indígenas de Bolivia (The Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia)
CIRABO	Central Indígena de la Región Amazónica de Bolivia (Indigenous Center of the Bolivian Amazon Region)
CMIB	Central de Mujeres Indígenas del Beni (Center of Indigenous Women of Beni)
COICA	Coordinadora de las Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazonica (Coordinator of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon River Basin)
CONAMAQ	Consejo Nacional de Ayllus y Markas del Qullasuyu (National Council of Ayllus and Markas of Qullasuyu)
COP	Conference of Parties (under the UNFCCC)
CPIB	Central de los Pueblos Indígenas de Beni (Center of Indigenous Peoples of Beni)
CSCIB	Confederación Sindical de Comunidades Interculturales de Bolivia (Syndicalist Confederation of Intercultural Communities of Bolivia)
CSUTCB	Confederación Sindical Única de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (Unified Syndical Confederation of Rural Workers of Bolivia)
DANIDA	Danish International Development Assistance
FAN	Fundación Amigos de la Naturaleza (Friends of Nature Foundation)
FAO	United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization
FPIC	Free Prior Informed Consent

INRA	Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria (National Institute for Agrarian Reform)
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
MAS-IPSP	Movimiento al Socialismo – Instrumento Político por la Soberanía de los Pueblos (Movement for socialism, Political instrument for the soveregnity of the peoples)
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
REDD	Reducing Emissions from Degradation and forest Deforestation in developing countries
RFN	Rainforest Foundation Norway
SIL	Summer Institute of Linguistics
TCO	Tierra Comunitario de Origen (Indigenous peoples communal land)
TIPNIS	Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro-Secure (Indigenous Territory and National Park Isiboro-Secure)
UFM	Unidad Forestal Municipal (The Municipal Forest Unit)
UNDRIP	United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UN-REDD	United Nations Collaborative Programme on Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation in Developing Countries

Content

Table of figures

All maps are scaled and inscribed by FAN. Pictures are my own. Other figure's origins are specified in the text.

"Who are you?" asked the little prince, and added, "You are very pretty to look at."
"I am a fox," said the fox.
"Come and play with me," proposed the little prince. "I am so unhappy."
"I cannot play with you," the fox said. "I am not tamed."
"Ah! Please excuse me," said the little prince.
But, after some thought, he added: "What does that mean– 'tame'?"
[…]
"It is an act too often neglected," said the fox. "It means to establish ties."
"'To establish ties'?"
"Just that," said the fox. "To me, you are still nothing more than a little boy who is just like a hundred thousand other little boys. And I have no need of you. And you, on your part, have no need of me. To you, I am nothing more than a fox like a hundred thousand other foxes. But if you tame me, then we shall need each other. To me, you will be unique in all the world. To you, I shall be unique in all the world. . . "

(de Saint-Exupery 1943, 57-58)

1 Introduction

> *"You have used millions of dollars, and what is left now? Nothing! We want a sawmill!"*[1]

It is early in the morning, but already warm outside, and a fan blows at full speed providing a breeze to everyone sitting on chairs in rows along the four walls of the room. The indigenous leader, who arrived about 25 minutes late, is sitting behind a big desk in the middle of the room. He fires accusations at FAN[2], complaining about their high salaries, car use and inefficiency. He also turns to the donors saying that if he is to participate in another project, they have to finance the indigenous peoples' organization directly, and not through organizations that carry the name of the indigenous only to profit themselves. He implies that they will refuse to participate in the new project that the NGO is working on financing.

Maybe unsurprisingly, the donors looked rather uncomfortable as the 20 minute speech continued before they were invited to say anything, moving uneasily on the chairs, looking down at the ground and sighing. The reaction from FAN during the tirade was more difficult to read. The director of the NGO's face showed no signs of emotion; another FAN representative shook his head at times while looking at the donors, signaling that what the indigenous leader was claiming was wrong. When it finally came to their turn, the donors differed significantly in their answers. The Danish, who had been working with the indigenous peoples in this area for a while seemed resigned, and explained that they only supported this as a pilot project, trying to secure long term finance to important functions within the territories, almost excusing a bad judgment made years ago. The Dutch representative answered that this was "the NGO deal or no deal", almost a bit offended on behalf of the NGO. She argued that the Netherlands never funded social movements because the embassy did not have the capacity to follow up on the expenditures. When it finally came to the director of FANs turn, he seemingly ignored the threats from the indigenous leader to not participate in the new project, and said that if there were any misconceptions, FAN was prepared to clarify them, and he was sure they could reach some sort of agreement in the end.

[1] Huara Chavez, President of the regional indigenous organization CIRABO in Riberalta, see elaboration below
[2] Fundación Amigos de la Naturaleza, NGO responsible for the execution and reporting from the sub-national program "Indígena REDD Amazonía Boliviana", the indigenous REDD program in the Bolivian Amazon, see elaboration below

The indigenous president's outrage took FAN, the donors, and me by surprise this early morning in May 2012. For a long time, I thought I would never expose it, for the sake of the actors involved. But after a while, the incident gave me clarity about what was at stake for the involved parties, and how they employed different strategies to achieve what they wanted. As you will see, more of the material from the donors' three days stay in Riberalta will appear as empirical vignettes in this thesis. These meetings embodied many of the dilemmas, strategies and conflictive interests over the natural resources in the Bolivian Amazonian landscape. "Global" flows of money and ideas were by no means fluent, but contested, negotiated and improvised. What I was looking for, were the results after 3 years of a REDD[3]-pilot project that had been taking place in this conflict ridden political and ecological landscape.

1.1 Research question

REDD has become a UN-driven scheme that is attempted to be initiated in many developing countries with tropical forests, amongst others, in Bolivia. Based on this notion I want to study the effects that this scheme has produced, based on five months of fieldwork in Bolivia. I have formulated two research questions:

How is REDD interpreted and communicated in Bolivia, and how are these ideas shaping the Amazonian-Bolivian political and ecological landscape and the relation between the initiator NGO, indigenous peoples, the forest and the state?

and

How can landscapes and scale-making, and place-making help us to understand different actors in Bolivia's relation to each other and REDD?

The international REDD discussions are not at the top of the political agenda in Bolivia anno 2012; however its presence as a sub-national pilot project, and the potentiality of a future REDD or REDD-like mechanism is shaping and coloring discussions and relations between the indigenous people's movements, the government and the NGO sector. Its light is variously reflected from the deep of the indigenous Amazon, from social movements'

[3] I follow the jargon in Bolivia and consequently use REDD, instead of REDD+ or REDD++. All REDD projects or proposals I encountered in Bolivia had bigger or smaller components focusing on biodiversity and sustainable development. See elaboration on REDD below

position papers, and from the offices of the foreign ministries of Bolivia and towards international geo-politics creating a colorful spectacle where actions, opinions and strategies leave a complex mosaic to be interpreted. Entangled into each other in the political and ecological landscapes are old and new actors with overlapping and conflictive views of how spaces can be viewed and utilized. My aim is to point towards some connections and disconnections between the movements and the actors, as well as some expectations and some results left in the Bolivian landscape from the private NGO-initiative to create a REDD-pilot program.

The study has been produced through participation and observation at different locations where REDD activities are performed or discussed in various ways – a multi-sited fieldwork. The spatially and thematically diverse data gives a unique insight into different points of view and different experiences with REDD from different perspectives in the landscape. By organizing the material along the concepts of scale-making and place-making I will demonstrate how different parties handle their attitude and relation to REDD in what appears to be a chaos of actors (human and non-human, legitimate and non-legitimate) and interests. By focusing on interaction I want to find out how new spaces, places and landscapes are produced. Through looking at friction I try to understand some of the dynamics related to scale making and place making exercises, this will also help us to understand the results of the project – or the lack thereof.

The negotiation of scale and the making of place happen in the meetings between actors. If we follow Tsing, “Contestants form themselves in shifting alliances, mobilized for reasons of power, passion, discipline, or dis-ease and mounting campaigns for particular configurations of scale.” (Tsing 2000, 327). The negotiations are carried out by vocal and mute actors, across sensory interfaces from sensors in outer space to touching and smelling, in localized or abstract space. By basing my analysis on meetings where I have been present, I wish to say something about the out-of-reach and abstract dynamics of REDD.

1.2 REDD background

REDD (Reducing Emissions from forest Degradation and Deforestation in developing countries) is an initiative that has emerged from the current negotiations under the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). As the name implies, REDD aims to

reduce those 17,3 % of total greenhouse gas emissions that come from deforestation and forest degradation (IPCC 2007b). The idea, very simplified, is that developing countries should receive financial incentives for no cutting their standing forest, as a compensation for lost opportunity of income. Norway has been instrumental in promoting this idea. Jens Stoltenberg announced at the 13th Conference Of Parties (COP 13) in Bali 2007 that Norway would finance this mechanism by contributing 500 million US dollars per year. The optimism around this initiative came through very clearly in his announcement:

> "Through effective measures against deforestation we can achieve large cuts in greenhouse gas emissions - quickly and at low cost. The technology is well known and has been available for thousands of years. Everybody knows how not to cut down a tree." (Stoltenberg 2007)

The Norwegian Minister for Development and Environment at the time, Erik Solheim was no less optimistic, stating that "…REDD may produce a triple dividend – gains for the climate, for biodiversity and for sustainable development." (Solheim in Angelsen 2008, IV). The clear aim was to make REDD a part of the "grand" new climate deal that, following the Bali Action Plan, was supposed to be agreed upon in 2009. The approach to REDD at the beginning, which was largely based on the Stern Report from 2007, was fairly technical and economic. Poor countries should be compensated economically *not* to cut trees. However, this changed quite rapidly. NGOs and indigenous peoples groups pushed to include safeguards for biodiversity and indigenous peoples rights, so-called co-benefits (Howell forthcoming 2013). The most debated among these are the right to Free Prior Informed Consent[4] (FPIC). These safeguards are now internationally agreed upon. But there still remains many things to be resolved in international negotiations before REDD is to be implemented internationally, particularly questions of finance. How the international finance scheme should be set up is still a large question, and REDD is still not designated to its own, or any other carbon market platforms. How REDD money should be distributed and used at a national level will probably be decided upon in each national context (Angelsen and McNeill 2012). Therefore, no one knows how REDD will look in the future, at an international or national scale.

[4] FPIC is a legal concept acknowledged in the United Nations Declaration on Indigenous Peoples' Rights (UNDRIP). This legal action seeks to balance the structural injustice, human rights violations and oppression suffered by indigenous people e. g. when they are forced to migrate from their natural habitat, affected by major infrastructural intervention, or enrolled on large scale conservation/development projects (like REDD).

1.2.1 The REDD dilemma

The push for co-benefits, like biodiversity and development opportunities for indigenous people, along with the ambiguity in the institutional REDD structure has led to significant challenges in the establishment of the many REDD pilot programs around the world. Howell has argued that there is a significant gap between "[the rhetoric of free, prior, informed] consultation and transparency on the one hand and the actual practice on the ground the other" (Howell forthcoming 2013, 7).

The execution of FPIC carried out by NGOs in forest dependent communities and indigenous peoples' communities often looks something like this:

> "The principle of REDD+ is that you will be paid not to cut down trees. We do not know how much you will be paid, when you will be paid, or even whether you will in fact be paid, and, if so, the money will be paid directly of if the local community will be rewarded in other forms such as the provision of a school, a clinic, a new road or whatever. Do you agree to accept this scheme?" (Howell forthcoming 2013).

In my judgmental power this might not be called an informed consultation. Add to it the lack of precision regarding what REDD is about, the internal power distribution within a community or representative organization, the probability of a high degree of illiteracy among many participants and that the process and logic of climate change and the link between deforestation and climate change which is difficult to understand for a social science student, the situation is, to say the least, complex.

1.3 REDD and Bolivia

The Plurinational State of Bolivia is one of the poorest and least developed countries in South-America (CIA 2013). Yet, it has experienced growth in recent years and launched public development programs to increase the living standard amongst the poor. The president of Bolivia, Evo Morales Ayma, was the first democratically elected indigenous leader in Latin-America. His party the MAS-IPSP (Movement for Socialism – Political Instrument for the Sovereignty of the Peoples) is backed by several indigenous and peasant social movements, amongst others the Bolivian peasant organization, CSUTCB, the rural women's organization *Bartolina Sisa*, and the peasant union for people in the lowlands with highland origin *Los Interculturales* (CSCIB).

The Bolivian geography consists of mainly two types of terrains, the Andes plateau, and the lowlands plains of the Amazon Basin (CIA 2013). The Andean plateau is dominated by low vegetation and characterized by its harsh climate in altitudes above 4000 meters above sea level. The lowlands are dominated by *pampas* (grasslands) and forest. The south eastern part of Bolivia towards the Paraguayan border is dominated by the dry chaco landscape, while the north eastern part is more abundant, and fertile.

53 % of Bolivian terrain is covered by forests (FAO 2011), but Bolivia is experiencing levels of deforestation that are far above average (UN-REDD 2010). In 2009, Bolivia adopted a new Constitution stating that

> "The natural forests and forest lands are of strategic importance for the development of the Bolivian people. The State shall promote conservation activities, sustainable use, the generation of profits from their products and the recovery and reforestation of degraded areas" (Political Constitution, article 386-389 in UN-REDD 2010).

Bolivia also signed a USD $ 4,4 million agreement with UN-REDD and related UN bodies in 2010 to take steps towards reducing deforestation (UN-REDD 2010). However, due to several reasons[5], little has happened since then on the national level. Some efforts have been made to start REDD pilot projects in Bolivia. The private non-profit organization Fundación Amigos de la Naturaleza (FAN) initiated a REDD pilot project in 2008, focusing on the northern territories in the state of Beni, including several municipalities and indigenous peoples territories (Bardalen 2011). The time frame of the implementation of the pilot project was from October 2009 to June 2012, and the project was not considered for renewal by any of the involved parties. As this was the only project that was practically operating and working in Bolivia at the time of my fieldwork this thesis is mainly, but not exclusively, concerned with this particular project.

In 2010 the Bolivian government invited civil society organizations and social movements to what they called "The World People's Conference on Climate Change", later called the Tiquipaya conference (after the location). From the resulting declaration we can read

> We condemn neoliberal market mechanisms such as the REDD (*Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation*) mechanism and its + and ++ versions, as those ones related with markets, that are violating our ***Peoples'*** sovereignty and right to free informed prior consent; as well as the sovereignty of national States. This mechanism is violating the

[5] Internal incoherency between and within departments (UN-REDD 2012), and the Tiquipaya declaration which I will return to.

> rights, uses, and customs of the ***Peoples*** and the Rights of Nature. (Tiquipaya Declaration 2010, original emphasis)

The declaration was signed by 241 social movements, NGOs and civil society organizations from all around the world. Bolivia has pushed this document actively in official international negotiations and has used this document to criticize REDD in the negotiations. This has been one of the reasons why implementing the Bolivia - UN-REDD agreement has been particularly complicated (UN-REDD 2012). At a meeting at the University of Oslo in May 2010 Morales was confronted with Bolivia's critique of REDD in an open meeting. His answer indicated that he only had a vague perception of the purpose and principles of REDD. One may ask who drafted and negotiated the Tiquipaya declaration; the meeting was reported to have over 30 000 participants, but one should not assume that the declaration from such a meeting is produced and decided on in consensus by all of its participants. Bardalen's account from the meeting describes a very negative attitude towards REDD amongst the participants, especially among the working group leaders. But, she also describes that one of her informants, an indigenous representative that was pro REDD and part of FANs pilot project was present. He did not actively participate in the discussions in the Forest working group that was responsible for this paragraph in the declaration (Bardalen 2011).

Bolivia has produced and proposed a forest protection mechanism in the UNFCCC that they see as an alternative to REDD called "Joint Mitigation and Adaptation Mechanism for the Integral and Sustainable Management of Forests" (UN-REDD 2012). No pilot projects in Bolivia or any other place have been initiated on the basis of this proposal yet, but the proposal has received significant support from many developing countries in the negotiations.

1.3.1 Fundación Amigos de la Naturaleza and REDD indígena Amazonía

Fundación Amigos de la Naturaleza (FAN) presents itself in the organization's information material as a private non-profit-making organization. In my view, it stands out as the most conservation- and US-oriented NGO in the Bolivian NGO-flora. It was founded in 1989 with the help and support of the US organization " The Nature Conservancy's" (TNC) and its mission is to "generate opportunities and innovation for the conservation of biodiversity in Bolivia" (FAN-Bolivia 2009a, 9). It started as an organization purely concerned with conservation and biodiversity, but has broadened its field towards "bio trade"

(commercialization of forest products), community development projects and climate change- and environmental services projects (FAN-Bolivia 2009a, 18). Today it has a variety of partners; organizations from civil society, government bodies and private actors in Bolivia. It has received funding from a range of foreign state development agencies, philanthropic organizations and some UN bodies.

FAN was the first organization in the world to certify emission reductions from reduced deforestation within the framework of the Clean Development Mechanism[6] (CDM), adhering to the Kyoto Protocol under the UNFCCC (World Bank 2011). This project is referred to as the "Noel Kempff Mercado Climate Action Project", and an external agency certified 1,034,107 tons of CO^2 reduction from 1997 to 2005 (FAN-Bolivia 2009a, 21). "Noel Kempff Mercado" is a UNESCO World heritage listed national park in Bolivia that was enlarged by the efforts of the CDM project, which also amplified its carbon gains. The project was aimed at supporting local residents in the area. It was implemented with the help of the former Bolivian government and with financing from BP, American Electric Power and Pacificorp. The project collapsed because the new government of Bolivia (elected in 2005) refused (until this date) to approve the sale of the project's carbon offset (interview FAN CEO 9th June). There are various explanations for this, one is the lack of a national legal framework, and another interpretation is that the new Bolivian government is actively undermining the activities of FAN and its contract with the former government regarding the implementation of the project. Rumors maintain that the state demands taxes from the generated carbon quotas, while simultaneously denying the sale of the same quotas. This supports the suspicion that the present government wishes to undermine FANs work. It is puzzling to me why FAN entered into a new REDD project in 2008-2009 when the former project dealing with carbon and deforestation remained in such an ambiguous state. The Noel Kempff Mercado project has received heavy criticism from Greenpeace in a report from 2009, particularly on the issue of carbon leakage[7] (Greenpeace 2009). FAN and TNC have replied to this critique in various forms (e.g. TNC and FAN-Bolivia 2009).

[6] CDM is a mechanism where rich countries (defined as annex I countries in the Kyoto Protocol), can pay poor countries (defined as annex II countries) to reduce their emissions through a quota market. This will help Annex I countries to achieve legally binding carbon reduction targets set in the Kyoto Protocol. Carbon is traded and sold as Certified Emission Reductions, and need to comply with a set of qualifications supervised by the CDM Executive Board.

[7] Carbon leakage here refers to unintended greenhouse gas emissions outside the project boundaries that are attributed as a side-effect of the activity (e.g. IPCC 2007a).

Indígena REDD Amazonía Boliviana is a project initiated by FAN. Its official partners are the Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia (CIDOB) and its member organization, the Indigenous Center of the Bolivian Amazon Region (CIRABO). The program aims to reduce deforestation and forest degradation in the north of the Department of Beni (Figure 1).

The project is built up by 5 components

1. The establishment of an institutional framework, with sharing of responsibilities and benefits, within the operation of REDD (with an aim to feed in to the national REDD process). Main implementer: CIDOB

2. The establishment of a carbon baseline and methods for the quantification of carbon reductions

3. Reduction of deforestation through empowerment of public institutions that control illegal deforestation

4. Reduction of forest degradation through improved management of natural resources in the indigenous territories

5. Monitoring, verification and review of social, environmental and climatic impacts (FAN-Bolivia 2009b my translation)

The project had a pilot period of 3 years, from 2009 to June 2012. As I arrived in Riberalta, the project headquarters, at the end of January 2012, practically the only operational part of the program located there was the 4th component. The work here was focused on two natural resources; timber (forest management plans), in TCO Chacobo Pacahuara and TCO Multietnico II (TIM II), and Brazil nuts (creation of an organic and fair-trade certified collector cooperative) in TCO Tacana Cavineño and TCO Cavineño. I was told that the staff of the 3rd component had their headquarters in Guayaramerín (Figure 1), and that all components were active, except the 2nd, which was closed. The second component was closed due to the aforementioned fact that the Bolivian government was not open to the sale of carbon quotas based on certified emission reductions.

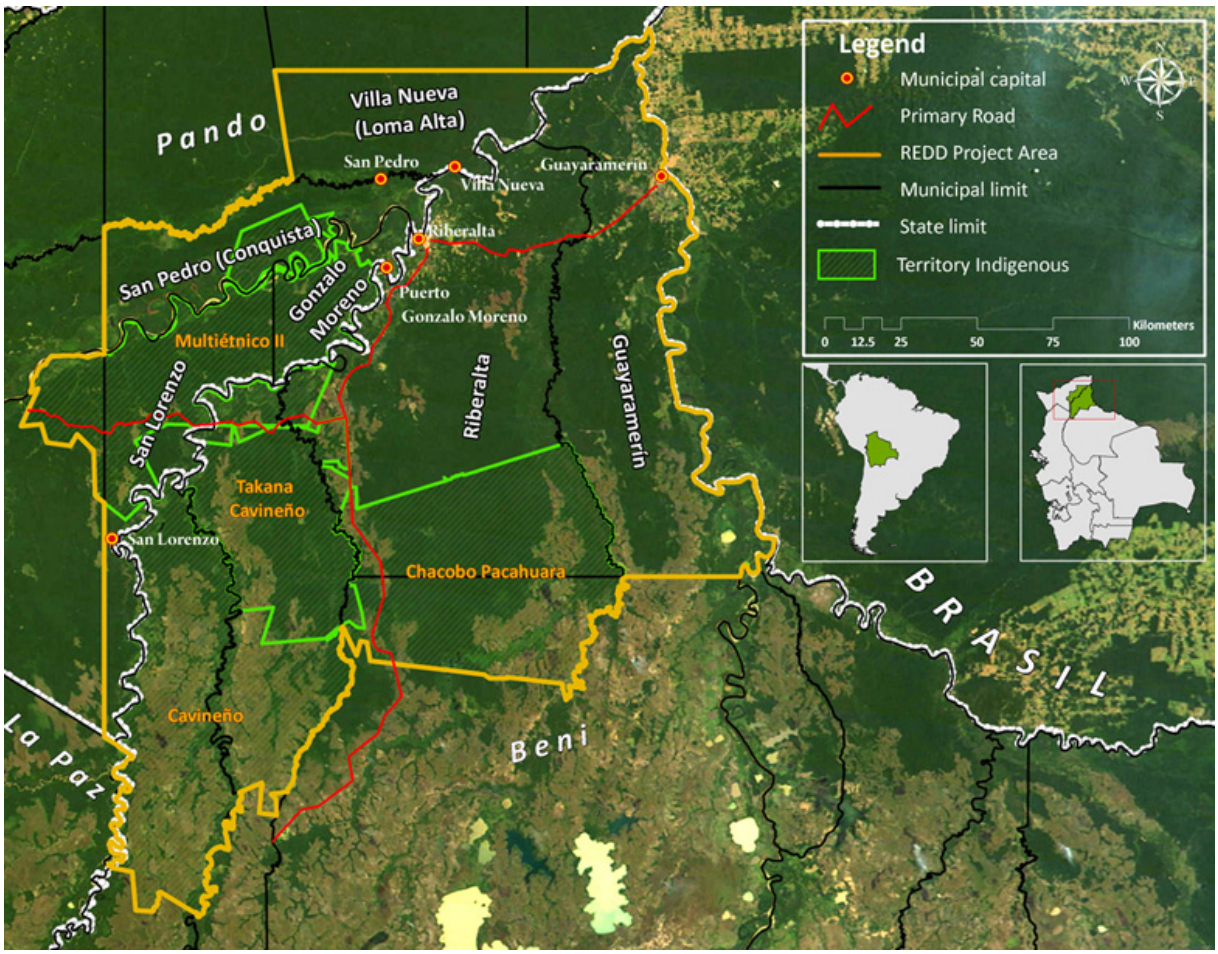

Figure 1 REDD project area

It was an important understanding inside FAN that the project in its initiation aimed to participate in one form or another of carbon market, though this has not been agreed upon in the international climate negotiations yet. The people who were responsible for the 3rd component had shifted parts of their focus due to lack of a cooperative environment between the state agencies responsible for forests in the area and FAN. They now ran pilot projects trying to increase cattle production by intensifying pastures with crop rotation and intercropping. The pilot projects were very small, but it was stressed that they could reduce deforestation by cattle owners if applied widely. As discussed in Chapter 3, some resources in the form of workshops and training were given to officers in state agencies.

The Indígena REDD Amazonia Boliviana program is funded by the philanthropic Betty and Gordon Moore foundation as a part of the foundation's Amazonian strategy (Betty and Gordon Moore Foundation 2013), Danish International Development Assistance (DANIDA), and the Embassy of the Netherlands.

As my fieldwork proceeded it became clear that FAN was developing a new project involving the same actors. I never saw any project documents but was told that the project was going to concern sustainable forest management. I was given the impression that I could observe how FAN practiced FPIC when they were going to go to indigenous territories to ask for consent to execute the new project, but they didn't reach that stage before I left in June 2012.

1.3.2 The indigenous peoples movement CIDOB - CIRABO

The Confederation of Indigenous Peoples of Bolivia is formerly known as The Indigenous Confederation of the Bolivian East (la Confederación Indígena Del Oriente Boliviano), which accounts for its Castilian acronym. It is known as one of two bodies of indigenous representation in Bolivia. It represents 34 indigenous ethnicities in the lowlands of Bolivia, including the Amazonian areas and the dryer Chaco region. Its sister organization CONAMAQ represents the highland indigenous ethnicities Aymara and Quechua.

CIDOB was formed in 1982, but demonstrated its strength in 1990 when it undertook a 35 day march, walking 700 kilometers from Trinidad in the Department of Santa Cruz to La Paz, the capital (Strobele-Gregor, Hoffman, and Holmes 1994). The March for Territory and Dignity was referred to consistently in my interviews with indigenous leaders, and marks the starting point for the struggle for indigenous land and self-determination. The march led to the demarcation of the first indigenous peoples territories and the national recognition of the ILO Convention 169 that protects indigenous peoples rights.

The second indigenous march in 1996 led to the establishment of the INRA (Instituto Nacional de Reforma Agraria) law, which began a long process of demarcating indigenous peoples' territories (TCOs) in the whole country (CIDOB-GTI 2008, 22). The land reform regained strength after 2006 when Morales won the elections.

Since then, seven more marches have taken place from the lowlands to La Paz. The marches have enabled CIDOB to become a strong actor in the Bolivian political landscape. CIDOB consists of many geographically and/or ethnically determined organizations referred to as "regionales" (Castilian), regional divisions or regional organizations. Figure 2 is an organizational chart developed by CIDOB that demonstrates the linkages. Like any vibrant social movement, the different regional organizations have unequal and changing influence over CIDOB's politics and priorities.

The Indigenous Center of the Bolivian Amazon Region (CIRABO) is one of the regional organizations in CIDOB. It is the second indigenous partner to the Indígena REDD Amazonía Boliviana project and the regional representation to the 4 participating TCOs (Territorio Comunitario de Orígen – the indigenous community's territories). CIRABO represents five indigenous groups located in the north of Beni; Tacana, Cavineño, Esse Ejja, Chacobo and Pacahuara, it also has annexed the Araona and the Joaquiniano ethnic groups with their belonging territories, though these territories lies outside the geographical mandate of CIRABO.

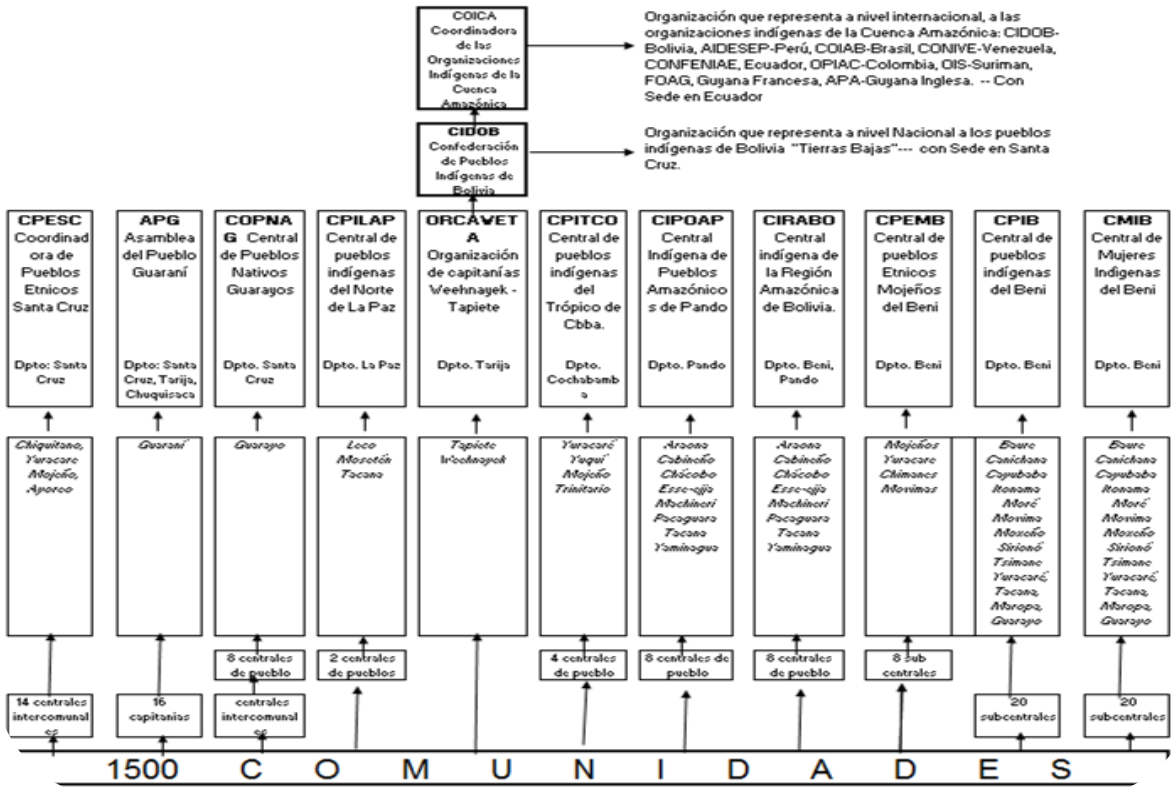

Figure 2 Organizational chart CIDOB[8]

1.3.3 TCO Chacobo Pacahuara and Alto Ivon

TCO Chacobo Pacahuara is the area where I studied the project activities aimed at the indigenous territories. The activities took place mainly in Alto Ivon and Trinidadcito. The

[8] The picture resolution does unfortunately not allow me to enlarge the chart. COICA represents all national Amazon basin indigenous organizations in international fora (see Chapter 5). Below CIDOB are the eleven regional organizations of which CIRABO is one.

Chacobo belong to the Panoan language group which is found in Bolivia, Brazil and Peru (Córdoba and Villar 2009). The total population that is living in the TCO was counted to be 1101 persons in 2006, and have probably increased moderately. The total area makes up 485 260 hectares in the Department of Beni, with its territory lying in Riberalta and Exaltación municipality (CIDOB-GTI 2008). Alto Ivon is the most populated community with around 45 inhabiting families. Trinidadcito, where I spend much time is primarily a Brazil nut harvest center, and is inhabited semi-annually. It also provided as a camp for the workers in the forest inventory that we will meet in Chapter 4. A few Pacahuaras also live in a small community in the TCO. This is why the TCO is called TCO Chacobo Pacahuara. They were brought to the territory by the missionaries in the 60s, because they speak language very similar to the Chacobo (Córdoba 2008, 68, Villar, Córdoba, and Combés 2009).

The Chacobo have received anthropological attention since early twentieth century when they were referred to by the Swedish ethnographer Erland Nordenskiöld. Since then, several ethnographers have published smaller and larger studies based on fieldwork among the Chacobo. Unfortunately for me, most of it has been published in German, French, Castilian or Portuguese.

The Chacobo have had regular contact with outsiders since missionaries from Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) settled with a group of Chacobo people in Puerto Limone in 1955. Gilbert and Mariann Prost stayed with the Chacobo for 25 years. Gilbert Prost wrote a master thesis published in 1983 which I regrettably did not get access to. The couple studied Chacobo language and translated the bible into Chacobo. They are also given much credit for the resettlement from Rio Benisito to Alto Ivon in the 60s because of the opportunity to involve the Chacobo in the rubber-tapping industry (Córdoba 2008, 67, 2012). Today, the self-sufficiency of fish, meat, forest and agricultural products are supplied by a significant monetary income from the collection of Brazil nuts in the Brazil nut season from December to March. Many of today's Brazil nut collection centers are historical localities where rubber centers existed before the rubber market collapsed. Huara, who is the president of CIRABO today, was pointed out as an "administrator" of the Chacobo people by the SIL missionaries when they left in the 70s. He retained this function alongside traditional forms of leaders until 2000, when he was elected "capitan grande" to represent all Chacobo people. He was elected the president of CIRABO in 2006 (CIDOB-GTI 2008, 74). Then his brother took over the function as "capitan grande" of the TCO.

1.3.4 The TIPNIS[9] conflict

The TIPNIS conflict was at the top of the national political agenda throughout the whole period of my fieldwork, and was discussed everyday in national media and in all of the organizational offices where I spent much of my time. The main cause of the dispute was a road planned to pass through the TIPNIS area. The road is seen as highly strategic in terms of economic integration of the country's different regions (especially Amazonia) and was also important in Bolivia's relationship to Brazil, as this road would provide a fast route to the Pacific Ocean from strategic places in western Brazil. The expected presence of oil reserves in the TIPNIS area has also been mentioned as a cause to "open up" the area. CIDOB led the critique stating that the indigenous people had not been consulted in the planning of this road. The conflict touched upon many difficult dilemmas in the development of new politics in Bolivia. The most important was the right to indigenous self-determination and autonomy (McNeish 2012). This became a part of the new political constitution that CIDOB had participated in writing, approved in 2009, and coincided with important international decisions like the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP), and the ILO-169 convention. Another sore point was that president Morales, himself of Aymara ethnicity, has claimed in international fora to be a spokesperson for indigenous rights. Now, he was about to break indigenous rights to push through the road building (according to CIDOB). Ultimately, the TIPNIS conflict grasps many important elements of the sustainable development debate, can a country's economy develop at the same time as everyone's rights are accommodated for and nature is protected?

It is impossible to not touch upon this conflict as I go further with my analysis, but for the sake of delimitation of the thesis topic to REDD I will try to keep it to a minimum.

The platform of CIDOB's TIPNIS-march, which arrived in La Paz in October 2011, had as one of their sixteen demands:

> "We demand that the government recognize our right to directly receive […] compensation for the mitigation of greenhouse gases that we achieve in our territories (environmental services)" (CIDOB 2011 my translation).

[9] Territorio Indígena y Parque Nacional Isiboro-Secure (TIPNIS) is a nature reserve and indigenous people's territory located between the departments of Cochabamba and Beni. It is known for a high degree of biodiversity.

This is probably the most forthright position on REDD that you will find from CIDOB. As the march's main aim was to stop a road project in TIPNIS I understand this demand primarily in two ways. One, the demand is in line with the long-term fight for self-determination and self-governance in the indigenous territories and two, this is another demonstration of the opposition of CIDOB towards the government, which at this point is based on the decision made in Tiquipaya to be opposed to REDD. Even though REDD made its appearance in the platform of demands, very few marchers were preoccupied with the details of this demand, and many unaware of it (personal communication Hirsch and McNeish).

1.4 Master thesis outline

There was one sub-national project at the time of my fieldwork that operated under the name of REDD. Bolivia's own UN-REDD "readiness" project has stagnated and the Bolivian government heavily criticize REDD in the international climate change negotiations on the basis of the Tiquipaya-agreement. FANs pilot project is in many ways doomed to fail and has departed from its ambition to measure, certify and sell emission reductions. However, many of the components that were meant to lead to the emission reductions (backed up by monetary incentives) are operational as long as the pilot project is financed until June 2012. Lurking in the background is a new FAN project on the drafting board, concerning sustainable forest management, still to be approved by the indigenous partners. These tensions have brought forth much of the empirical material that I will use in this thesis. Based on friction and scaling I will try to describe some of the interactions between the different parties at stake that can illustrate lessons applicable to REDD studies elsewhere. We will meet different alliances striving to adapt to shifting facts and politics and try to analyze what methods or practices they employ to manage these shifting grounds.

The second chapter will clarify the theoretical and methodological foundation for the thesis. I will explain some of the most central theoretical concepts used and position myself within the realm of social anthropology that is occupied with the global, development and environment. I will explain the choices and processes that led to my empirical findings in light of using multi-sited research as an overarching methodological framework for my fieldwork.

The third chapter will mainly deal with the material from my time at the FAN office, and the work that they do together with "target groups", e.g. municipal officers, the indigenous

organization and the donors, who provide the financing for the project. I will do this by looking at the process of mapping and scale-making and use this process as a representation of how FAN is dealing with its partners. I will argue that FAN produces a sense of manageable forests with maps and reports. By simplifying and essentializing geographic and administrative features, some actors are muted while others are vocalized. In doing this, the landscape emerges as a manageable place. The focus on mapping becomes absurd when maps themselves become an end, not a means in the NGO's relationship with the donors. I will demonstrate how FAN perceived themselves as "noble managers" in the way they treat the "target groups" of the REDD program and how they use maps to present themselves as managers of a large territory. We will see how municipal forest officers learn to use mapping tools and software to produce manageable places on their own, while they deny their own capacity to act on newly acquired information about forest fires. The data for the chapter is based on the participation in a workshop about ArcGIS, the participation in presentations of project results to donors, participation in office meetings, and reports, satellite images, and maps from various points in time through the project implementation.

The fourth chapter will deal with the material I have from my time in the TCO participating in old and new forest practices. We will see how traces mediate for close encounters between humans and non-humans and how through lines, trees are assembled to produce the forests as a commodity. I will argue that through a forest inventory the NGO engages in the production of place taking "control" over 871 hectares of forest, creating a micro universe/map of manageable and tradable entities (trees). We will find that it takes much improvisation, skill and cleverness to practice effective management of the places we became familiar with in chapter 3. The Chacobo engage in this from a very different perspective. By using Rival's concept of "Centers of abundance" I will show how the Chacobo engage as laborers in this venture, while their way of knowing/way of walking as ever-exploring along traces and paths in the forest indeed do not change (Rival 2002). My data indicate that the Chacobo structures its relationships to outside actors mainly along two lines; predation and harvest. Predation is evoked in terms of exploitation in human relations while harvest functions in a mixture of human and non-human relations, like in the forest inventory. The chapter closes with a debate on the probability of whether close encounters and satellite data together might incorporate the landscape in the modern controlled space or if the control remains arbitrary.

The fifth chapter will deal with how meetings with presumably equal messages and topics play out quite differently in different political and spatial settings. I will follow the Rio+20 process from a workshop in CIDOB, to a workshop in CIRABO and then afterwards follow Bolivian indigenous representatives to Rio de Janeiro and the Rio+20 Conference. By using Tsing's concept "packages" I try to understand how the discussions under the topic of "Green Economy", the main dispute prior to Rio+20, get different emphases and articulations in different political landscapes. "Green Economy" goes from being criticized for being dangerous developmentalism in a new form to become the articulation of what is wrong with the Bolivian government. A package gets unmoored from its original context and reframed to fit the interfaces where it is communicated, along the way the package is attempted reattached to new scales. A common feature is the desire of the messenger to make the package effective and situate the messenger as a political actor. I will discuss how this can help us to understand the unclear position that REDD currently have in Bolivia.

The sixth chapter will be some concluding remarks where I point out interconnections between the findings from the different analytical chapters. I will finally discuss a statement by Bolivia's vice-president Alvaro García-Linéra about the nature and function of the Bolivian Amazon landscape and the actors where the REDD-pilot project took place, and point out questions for further research.

2 Theory and method

In this chapter I want to position myself according to theoretical and methodological approaches within the anthropological discipline. There is no doubt that trying to study a "REDD-in-the-making" project, undefined and often unarticulated, as the REDD-in-the-making project actually is phasing out, has posed challenges to my thesis. My theoretic and methodological approaches are tightly interconnected. The concepts of *landscapes, scale-making* and *place-making* help me tie together data-material in a way that is still fairly untraditional in that it does not follow a group of people, nor is it situated in a particular place but is truly multi-sited. This represents the REDD processes in Bolivia as well; they are not streamlined processes that goes from A to B to C but are contested, uneven, multi-sited, awkward, and patched. Working with REDD in Bolivia has at many times felt like working in the sediments of the turbulent and forceful dynamics of Bolivian politics.

2.1 Theoretical clarifications

I will hereby present the theoretical framework of the thesis. Chapter specific theories will be discussed in the chapters that they belong to. Theoretically, my work can be placed in the intersection between the phenomenological turn in anthropology (e.g.Tilley 1994, Ingold 1993), political ecology[10] and ANT/science studies. My ultimate goal for this thesis is to untangle some of the processes and forces between so-called global initiatives and so-called local effects in environmental politics. As Latour convincingly says, "No place dominates enough to be global and no place is self-contained enough to be local" (Latour 2005, 204). I will problematize the global→ local effect, and demonstrate how landscapes may offer an alternative to the study of the "global".

2.1.1 The landscape

Rather than "globalization" or the study on the "global effects on the local", the landscape as defined by Tilley (1994) makes the foundation for this thesis. Globalization and landscape are not opposing ways to understand a certain phenomenon. The point is that I wish to have

[10] I see "political ecology" as perspective that contributes to "understand the political dynamics surrounding material and discursive struggles over the environment" (Bryant 1998, 79).

meetings between people in places and landscapes as my starting point, and see how these meetings can illustrate something about what might be called "global". Tilley defines a landscape as "… a series of named locales, a set of relational places linked by paths, movements and narratives" (Tilley 1994, 34). Tilley's concept of landscape is based on Heidegger's claim that "spaces receive their essence from locations and not from 'space'" (Heidegger (1972, 332) in Tilley 1994, 13), therefore the body "become[s] the privileged vantage point from which the world is apprehended" (Tilley 1994, 13) and the basis for theoretical analysis. I prefer Tilley's definition of landscape to other definitions because it embraces notions of power and politics in a more apprehensible way than other definitions of landscape (e.g. Ingold 1993). In this thesis I will look at power and politics by presenting how different actors regard space "as a medium for action, a resource in which actors draw on in their activity and use for their own purpose" (Tilley 1994, 20). In my material, maps become interesting as they manifest how actors view space as a medium for action. In the process of mapping, scale-making becomes a necessity. The actors' pursuit of scale-making in the mapping process therefore becomes "value-laden rather than value-free and political rather than neutral" (Tilley 1994, 20). The map then, represents a point of view in the landscape more than a neutral "oversight" as may be suggested.

By moving through various landscapes in a multi-sited fieldwork and doing participatory observation I was forced to realize that understanding REDD through the study of institutions and political hierarchies has a limited contribution to understanding how REDD takes shape in the lowland Bolivian forest dominated landscape. These processes need to be studied by looking at interaction between the different actors, the preconditions for these interactions and its relations to the material landscape. An action is never taken "above" or onto the landscape itself, but is always situated within it. Appearance of dominance always relies on a set of simplifications that take place in the interactions between humans and non-humans. The landscape is never a passive "scene" where human agency is preformed, but always contested and in the making (Lien and Davison 2010).

My approach to the meaning of landscape is also inspired by actor network theory (ANT) in that I see the landscape as a production of the relationship between actors both human and non-human that are interconnected and interactive. To turn the focus towards the performativity in these relations between humans and non-humans and how the different spaces and places are produced in different relations can help us to understand how scales and

alliances appear and what they become, or fail to become (Law 2007, Callon 1986, Latour 2004). The turn towards the interconnections between the social and material, often studied as humans and non-humans seems to have gained increased attention the last years (Sørhaug 2013). I choose this approach primarily because of its potential to explain the dynamics of my data, which deals with a program whose primary aim is to affect or protect non-humans (trees).

To understand the meetings between actors in the political-ecological landscape I have also been inspired by the concept of "social interface" developed by Norman Long (Arce and Long 1993, Long and Jinlong 2009). He finds that to make "systems" work, there is a great deal of negotiation, creativity and improvisation that is needed on the behalf of spokespersons to adopt the same "ideas" to different scales (Arce and Long 1993). This is interesting in terms of how REDD is adjusted in the same manner across scales and temporalities. In my case, an interface often becomes the articulation of a landscape or assembly of landscapes in a particular temporality.

My place and vantage point for my fieldwork became Riberalta, a sleepy town where the great Amazonian river Madre de Dios meets another river, Rio Beni. The regional office of FAN with most of the REDD project staff and the headquarters of CIRABO are located here. The town's economy has always been dependent the extraction of the rich natural resources from the Amazon forest and was, until recently, only reachable by boat or plane. In the rainy season, the road south, only called "la integración" is flooded most of the time, and devoid of traffic. To the northeast is another new road and it is only one and a half hours' drive until one meets the border of Brazil. The landscape is flat and on all sides there is a thick wall of forest with incidents of pampas with elephant grass and the obligatory grazing cattle. Along the rivers the trees stretches into the water almost as they are about to be squeezed off the land. Along the roads the forest has been pushed back by fires and newly settled farmers. Large trees with black swidden trunks still preside over the grazing cattle. Far south, with grass lands and soy fields on all sides, lays the modern million city of Santa Cruz, with permanent traffic jams and tall buildings. This is the capital of the Bolivian lowland and the headquarters of CIDOB, FAN and Bolivian capitalism, with a small but visible upper class of large landowners mainly in the soy or cattle breeding business. Mounting in the west are the dramatic valleys that lead up to Andean plateau. Many of my indigenous informants know

this ascension with their hearts and bodies as they have participated in one or several of the eight marches from the low-lands towards La Paz with their demands for territory and dignity.

2.1.2 Friction

By adopting the concept of friction I want to highlight some of the contestations and production of the landscape. Friction is a term used by Anna Tsing, and she argues that it is "the awkward, unequal, unstable and creative qualities of interconnectedness across difference" (Tsing 2005, 4), I wish to change it to "…across landscapes". There are both practical and theoretical applications of the concept. Practical situations I have encountered during fieldwork that I have experienced as frictional, have later appeared to me as the moments which are most interesting theoretically. Whether it was heated arguments in offices, lack of progress in my own relationship to others, or struggling to get through a thicket when we were out walking. By exploring these frictions I wish to comment on the uneasiness of implementing "one size fits all" ideas.

2.1.3 Scale-making and place-making

The study of scale-making and place-making will be a central feature in this thesis. Tsing offers it as one way to study friction (Tsing 2005, 8). I see these concepts as dialectic and complementary. Tsing studies scale-making through the activity of generalization[11]. I will simply understand scale-making here as an assemblage of spatial observations and facts that are used to produce political and ecological agencies. Conversely, I will use place-making in an opposing way; to look for facts or events based on notions of their generalizability. Interestingly, in my material these processes sometimes involve the elaborate use of senses and walking, I am therefore also inspired by Pink who uses walking as a tool for place-making (Pink 2008). Both are core activities in which the actors involved with REDD in Bolivia are engaging in. Even though the exercises are complementary, we will see that the concepts are overlapping in many ways; places are made to fit into certain scales and scales are made to fit certain places. I found that it is when different actors try to produce different scales that we find overlapping and sometimes conflictive spaces. Scale-making and place-

[11] The action or process of generalizing, e. i. of forming, and expressing in words, general notions or propositions obtained from the observation and comparison of individual facts or appearances; also, an instance of this (Oxford English Dictionary in Tsing 2005, 88)

making is used here to try to transcend the dichotomy of the global and the local. Or to phrase it like Tsing: it "… refuses the lie that global power operates as a well-oiled machine" (2005, 6). Instead of assuming what is local and what is global (as often done by my informants as well as academics), I want to look at the processes behind where the local and the global are produced as ideas. This is not to reject, or make light of the reality that people experience of the global, or indeed the local, but it is a matter of focus in my fieldwork and thesis.

2.1.4 Mapping

I will use mapping in a broad sense in this thesis. I see mapping as assemblage and inscription of spatial data on two-dimensional paper. The process of mapping will be used here as an example of how scaling and the production of a place or a "local" in fact consists of a series of operations that depend on various collaborations. The study of mapping as inscription is inspired by Latour, and can be seen as "any item of apparatus or particular configuration of such items which can transform a material substance into a figure of diagram which is directly usable by one of the [actors]" (Latour (1986, 51) in Orlove 1993, 43). By analyzing the set of practices that are necessary to make a map we can better understand "the inclusion and exclusion of features, classification of feature, and relations of features" (Orlove 1993, 37).

2.2 Method

Here, I will present the methodological choices and priorities I made before and during the fieldwork. The foundation of my method is participatory observation, as expected in a social anthropology fieldwork. I have tried to participate as far as practically possible in the different areas where I have been present. I have no other word that describes my fieldwork better than "multi-sited". As Marcus poetically says,

> "Multi-sited research is designed around chains, paths, threads, conjunctions, or juxtapositions of locations in which the ethnographer establishes some form of literal, physical presence, with an explicit, posited logic of association or connection among sites that in fact defines the argument of the ethnography. " (Marcus 1995, 90)

And what can better describe my fieldwork than an exploration along threads, conjunctions and juxtapositions in the Bolivian landscape? My fieldwork has been an exercise of following traces where people, ideas, words (REDD), decision-making processes, organizations and trees in the forest have been overlapping each other. How these traces of meetings are

translated across places and spaces became my primary devotion. But the multi-sitedness of my fieldwork came out of necessity rather than desire. The realities I met in the field and the subject I wanted to study forced me to engage in multi-sited fieldwork.

2.2.1 Multi-sited fieldwork

My fieldwork took place in Bolivia from January to June 2012. The first four weeks I was in Santa Cruz learning Castilian, and establishing contacts with the indigenous peoples' movement and FAN. Afterwards I spent almost four weeks at FAN's office in Riberalta. From the last week of February I went to TCO Chacobo Pacahuara where I stayed for five weeks (until the end of March). I had a vacation for two weeks in the beginning of April before I traveled between Santa Cruz, Trinidad, La Paz and Riberalta together with Cecilie Hirsch, a PhD candidate at Center for Environment and Development. We travelled for three weeks to do interviews and participate in workshops. In the beginning of May I went to TCO Chacobo Pacahuara to participate in a forest inventory which FAN and people from the TCO executed together, which was interrupted by a visit from the donors to the REDD-pilot project which mainly took place in Riberalta. From the mid-May I spent time in Riberalta, mainly at FAN and CIRABO's offices, before travelling to Santa Cruz in the beginning of June, where I spent time with CIDOB, and did some interviews at FAN's headquarters before I went to Rio de Janeiro from 18th to 23rd of June to participate with the CIDOB delegation in the Rio+20 Conference where I concluded my fieldwork.

It was difficult to make choices while I was in the field. Should I spend most of my time with FAN or in Alto Ivon? What would give me the best foundation to understand the collaboration between the two? How much should I travel back and forth to be able to observe meetings? And so forth. I met realities in the field that made some choices possible and others not. An important strategy became to utilize time well, wherever I was, by spending formal and informal time with informants. Stewart (1998, 21) says that time "is the single most potent [methodological] tactic that ethnographers have". As you will see in the analysis much of the data is based on meetings and workshops. But, I would not have gained access to the meetings in the first place, or "back-stage" preparations or aftermath reflections without having spent time with informants to gain trust and access. A lot of background information stems from interviews done with people from FAN and other NGOs, and also government officials, UN actors, former participants in the REDD project and indigenous representatives.

Marcus (1995) suggests following a person, a thing, a plot, metaphor and so forth as a starting point for multi-sited fieldwork. I don't think I have followed one "thing", rather I have followed overlapping traces that sometimes consist of a person, a thing or a discussion. If forced to pinpoint one "thing", it has to be that I have tried to follow an acronym, REDD.

Prior to embarking for my fieldwork I did not have an aim to follow the acronym across as many spaces as mentioned above. My aim was to do something in the direction of a subaltern study with an indigenous population as the main focal point, but still also to include FAN and other actors. But the realities on the ground and the ethnographer's limitations of time changed the strategy. This has led to a more inductive thesis.

2.2.2 Multiple strategies for access

I had few starting points when I arrived in Bolivia. I had never been there before and had only a place to live, a language teacher, and a handful of phone numbers and contacts from connections in Norway. I had to be creative and use different strategies and different places to gain access to people and information, but I also had some luck. An important starting point to get access to CIDOB and CIRABO became Rainforest Foundation Norway (RFN). When I went to the CIDOB office with my language teacher as an interpreter to introduce myself in January I was resistant to mention RFN because I had gotten a clear signal that they did not want to act as intermediaries. However, when I arrived and introduced myself at the office for natural resources, my name was recognized and I was warmly welcomed. It turned out that the Foundation's Bolivia responsible had already told them that I was coming. In this way I was also introduced to CIRABO because Huara, the president of CIRABO was coincidentally at the CIDOB office at the time I arrived.

The approach to FAN was more formal. I knew about them and the project through Bardalen (2011) and the research that she had done for her master thesis two years earlier. I contacted them first by e-mail, and we agreed on a time where I could meet them, during my stay in Santa Cruz. They wanted a sort of formalized relationship and I had to explain in depth my project and focus. They were skeptical in the beginning because they said there was no "REDD" to study since there was no "REDD-elements" left in the project, like measurement of carbon or other forms of compensation based on conservation performance. But ultimately, we agreed that I could study the continuous work that FAN did together with CIRABO and

the TCOs. As they chose to spend a lot of time and effort to help me, I have promised to give them the results of my research after I finish.

The FAN office in Riberalta was very welcoming after we had reached an agreement in Santa Cruz. They offered me a place where I could sit and lent me a computer and internet access. I found out that they were used to having students there, and another master student from The Netherlands also stayed in the office over a longer period of time while I was there. This became a place where I dwelled daily, and I became a part of the office community. Most of the time, people had time to talk and did their best to explain complex strategies and processes to a student that still had difficulty in understanding Castilian. Even though I tried to explain otherwise several times, I experienced a perception in FAN that they were helping me to study how indigenous people related and interpreted the REDD project. Therefore, they shared many opinions and personal perspectives on how it was to work with indigenous people. They found it difficult to understand that my study also involved them and the communication between the two. For them to be studied anthropologically was perceived as unusual and I also noticed a certain effort to divert my attention towards the TCOs and CIRABO. But, they let me participate in meetings and were very engaged in our conversations, something I interpreted as approval.

When I arrived in Riberalta in the end of January it was quickly decided in counsel with CIRABO and FAN that I should go to TCO Chacobo Pacahuara. As mentioned by Bardalen (2011) TCO Chacobo Pacahuara and TCO Tacana Cavineño were considered by FAN to be the most successful TCOs in terms of project implementation. Additionally, Huara, the president of CIRABO is of Chacobo ethnicity and I had the impression that he wanted me to go to TCO Chacobo Pacahuara. The formal permissions were ready within three days.

Tani, who was the president of Alto Ivon, the biggest village in the TCO was delegated the responsibility of getting me there. I planned to go right away, but because of some miscommunication, that did not happen. In conversations with Tani I refused something that I perceived as a suggestion or an “offer”. The suggestion was to pay someone to “teach me things about the forest”. As I figured out later, Tani was resistant to bring me to his village because he was worried that I would exploit their knowledge without giving anything back (I return to this in Chapter 4). However, he never confronted me with his suspicion so I kept waiting for a car that was coming “the day after tomorrow”. I ended up spending a lot of time at the FAN office, where I had a place to sit and work. While I was there I was able to learn a

lot about the project and the ideas that the staff had about their role in it. I was also able to participate in the ArcGIS workshop that is discussed in Chapter 3. I finally went to Alto Ivon with FAN's forest engineer Antonio, more than three weeks later, when he was going to do some preliminary research before planning the forest inventory that is discussed in Chapter 4. The misunderstanding continued but was resolved after some time, a situation that I describe further in Chapter 4.

Due to this, and other barriers I did not stay in the TCO as long as I had planned originally to execute my subaltern study. As I was still in the process of learning Castilian, it became difficult to prioritize to learn Chacobo which was the mother tongue of almost all of the people living in Alto Ivon, and the preferred conversational language. During my first five weeks in the TCO, I realized that there were a few things about the REDD project, as it was implemented by FAN, that restricted or affected the daily life in the TCO. Therefore, I spent my time concentrating on movement and forest use practices, something that no anthropologist before me had looked at.

Many of the interviews with different NGOs, researchers and government officials were done together with Cecilie Hirsch. As she was carrying out research for a PhD on REDD in Bolivia we had a lot of common interests. She had already been doing fieldwork for some months before I arrived, and was familiar with many people and institutions from previous research. By traveling with her many doors were opened to me and I got access to interviews that I never would have been privy to otherwise, amongst others with the head of Bolivia's negotiation team to the climate change negotiations.

It was when I was finished with the interviews with Cecilie and had returned to Riberalta that I solved another difficult access point. As I had spent much time at the FAN office and arrived with FAN staff in Alto Ivon, I was considered by most people in CIRABO to be one of the FAN people. As the CIRABO office worked less systematically I found it difficult to understand how I should balance time with CIRABO and time with FAN. What I finally figured out was that between 8.30 and 9 AM everyone who had business with CIRABO arrived at the office. Many also came to spend some time there and hear the news. As long as I had something to do (a person that I wanted to interview or request for information) I could join the organic crowd of indigenous representatives, curious people, office staff, NGO personnel and municipality representatives who were there for the same purposes as I was.

Every Thursday I also participated in the weekly meeting with all indigenous representatives at 9 AM in the office where a status update was made and the week was summarized.

When I returned to Santa Cruz in June to get to know CIDOB better before we travelled to Rio+20 I expected that they would be skeptical towards me. The CIDOB board was under a lot of pressure as a new TIPNIS march was on the way towards La Paz with less people and momentum than expected. I was coming from CIRABO who had refused to participate in the march because of a new alliance with the government (see Chapter 5), so I thought I would be scrutinized about my stance on the issue. That did not happen. I was warmly welcomed and included in the planning for Rio+20. I think there were several reasons why this happened. First, my connection to the Rainforest Foundation may still have had something to say, my previous experience with these types of settings might have been considered valuable, and that my effort to contact them and ask to be a part of their delegation and offer help might have been perceived as a token of support in a situation where they felt they were under pressure.

2.2.3 Positioning and limitations

Powdermaker (1966) argues that one's background and personality "influence the anthropologist's choice of problems and of methods, even the choice of the discipline itself" (1966, 19). It is therefore important that the anthropologist reveals his background as part of a positioning. I do not intend to discuss parental relations like Powdermaker, but start to say that for several years I have been politically active in civil society organizations fighting against poverty and injustice and for equal distribution and sustainable management of the world's natural resources. It has been generalized as one of the participant organizations in what by some have been termed an "anti-globalization movement" (even though it has never been a unified movement, but it has sometimes had "global" platforms, like World Social Forum).

This involvement has sparked my interest for developmental and environmental politics, how they are transnationally connected and what types of effects they produce. This is why I have chosen REDD as a topic, and Bolivia as a case. REDD is an initiative that has gained significant force from within the UN system, and the idea that it will produce multiple benefits (as described in the first chapter) has gained international momentum. There is a significant likelihood that these ideas will travel fast, and have the potential to affect many

people and trees in different ways in the near future. I found Bolivia particularly interesting because of the high level of poor and marginalized people organized in social movements in the country. It was by unifying these forces that Morales won the elections in 2005. I was curious about how these powerful movements that represent legitimate voices of marginalized peoples would react when they met proponents of REDD. During my fieldwork I tried to suppress the activist within me to a certain degree, knowing that it was impossible. But, I also noticed during the fieldwork that presenting my own knowledge and views was an important starting point for interesting discussions.

A position that was challenging to negotiate during the fieldwork was the balance between FAN and CIRABO as there was a certain level of tension between the organizations. As FAN staff consists of people with higher education, it was easier for me to relate and communicate with them than indigenous representatives. We shared many interests and references like movies and music. We could eat in restaurants after office hours or have a drink. As they were the most welcoming, I spent much of my time there while I was waiting to go to Alto Ivon. Staff at the FAN office also tried to help me by contacting CIRABO representatives, both Tani and Huara, to voice my frustrations and concerns. My ethnographic self told me that it would be more strategic, and more interesting to try to connect with people from CIRABO in the same way. This became easier after I began to understand the social dynamics at the CIRABO office. After spending time there every morning for a couple of weeks people started to talk more freely with me, and shared views with me on FAN, REDD, TIPNIS and other topics.

Stewart (1998) mentions roles as a limiting factor for the ethnographer. Not only was I ascribed the role of being "from" FAN, I was also a young *man*. None of my key informants were women. This is of course something that can affect my understanding and presentation of my data, but more than that, I believe it says something about the field that I have operated within. Especially in Alto Ivon, I spoke with very few women. As documented by Córdoba (2008, 2006) both hunting, forest activities and politics are within the realm of men among the Chacobo. In the CIRABO office there were very few women indigenous representatives, and none of them were dealing with issues concerning natural resources. They rarely took part in the meeting discussions, but I noticed that whenever they did, they brought up relevant and good points that often were undervalued or ignored.

In the FAN office women were more visible and participative. But quantitatively, there were fewer women in higher positions at the office. The program manager and all of those repsponsible for components were men, whereas women with similar education were employed as secretaries. However, the person holding overall responsibility for the climate change programs of FAN was a woman. I believe that FAN in this way reflects the educated middle class in Bolivia in general, while men still are predominant, women are increasingly becoming equally represented in office environments.

2.2.4 Participatory observation

One can discuss whether there are conflicting interests between participatory observation and staying in one place over a long period of time or that of a multi-sited approach where the anthropologist moves between different actors and interests.

As I have described above I have been able to do participatory observation and gotten access to many different arenas. However, it is difficult to define what participatory observation is in an office environment. But in situations like working in groups during workshops I tried to contribute to the discussions with my perspectives. When there were open plenary discussions I usually kept quiet. It did not feel natural to talk when an organization was discussing how they were going to handle a certain situation. During my time in the TCO it was easier to "participate", as I could participate in manual labor like cleaning communal spaces, gathering Brazil nuts and fishing or participating in the forest inventory.

Wadel says that "fieldwork is like a round dance between theory, method and data" (Wadel 1991, 129 my translation). When I had participated in most types of traditional forest uses in TCO Chacobo Pacahuara, I realized that REDD did not influence the daily life in the TCO and I revised my fieldwork strategy and method to become more multi-sited. I focused my attention towards arenas where REDD was performed, such as forest inventory, meetings in CIRABO's forest committee, workshops, meetings with donors and so forth. This made me more attentive towards the details of what was going on in the discussions and I worked harder to understand the dynamics in the decision-making in the indigenous organizations and so forth. Living in the city also enabled me to follow the debate about TIPNIS, which to a large degree was dominated by CIDOB, in the national media. When I, by coincidence, had been able to participate both in CIDOB's Rio+20 workshop and later an information

dissemination session about Rio+20 in CIRABO I figured it would be interesting to follow the process (and people) all the way to Brazil.

One can therefore say that a set of methodological choices, findings, coincidences and personal limitations has created the material presented here. This has truly been an empirical driven process as my findings and interactions during the process have led to course changes along the way.

2.2.5 From data to analysis

After I returned home from my fieldwork it took me a long time to process the data I had obtained. By writing out empirical descriptions from the various sites I had been to, I tried to elaborate common theoretical points that tied the descriptions together. Often I had two empirical findings that appeared contradictory to me. Like the good collaboration and mutual respect between FAN and Chacobo representatives in the forest inventory, and the quarreling at the same time between both the organizations' leaders in Riberalta. These findings became very fruitful to "think with". By explaining these contradictions and leaning on anthropological literature, I hope to have written a trustworthy and inspiring account about the attempted implementation of a REDD project in the Bolivian Amazon.

2.2.6 Ethical considerations

Even though I have done research in a field and amongst people who are often publicly visible, I have tried to treat my informants with discretion in this thesis. I have therefore kept the names of places and institutions but anonymized all informants in the thesis. Situations, observations and claims that I have considered to be potentially harmful to any of my informants have been left out of the thesis.

“Your planet is very beautiful,” he said. “Has it any oceans?”
“I couldn’t tell you,” said the geographer.
“Ah!” The little prince was disappointed. “Has it any mountains?”
“I couldn’t tell you,” said the geographer.
“And towns, and rivers, and deserts?”
“I couldn’t tell you that, either.”
“But you are a geographer!”

“Exactly,” the geographer said. “But I am not an explorer. I haven’t a single explorer on my planet. It is not the geographer who goes out to count the towns, the rivers, the mountains, the seas, the oceans, and the deserts. The geographer is much too important to go loafing about. He does not leave his desk. But he receives the explorers in his study. He asks them questions, and he notes down what they recall of their travels.

(de Saint-Exupery 1943, 43-44)

3 The making of a manageable place

The aim of this chapter is to explore the practices that are employed and interactions that take place in the execution of a project based on the vision to reduce deforestation and degradation. Particularly, I will look at interactions between FAN employees, indigenous people and donors to highlight the internal dynamics between the partners within the project. I will use Panopticon as a perspective and maps as tools to present what I perceive as tactics from FAN towards indigenous people, government officials and donors to fulfill their vision of what I term, 'the noble manager'. To achieve this they explicitly and implicitly employ tactics that involve scale-making and place-making exemplified through map-making and the presentation of maps.

3.1 Introduction

It's an evening in May; a single strong, bright, fluorescent lamp is lighting up the backyard filled with many plastic chairs, some of them empty. The air is hot and humid and we feel heat radiating from the concrete walls and floor, stored after a long day of intense sunlight. Around us are four flip charts with hand drawn maps featuring different data. The maps are from TCO Chacobo Pacahuara, TCO Cavineño, and TCO Multietnico II. Outside in the open space, surrounded by offices sit three tired, and newly arrived representatives from DANIDA, the official Danish development aid agency. One representative from the embassy of the Netherlands, three or four representatives from the TCOs (all working with FAN as local technicians), the executive director of FAN, the manager of the FAN- REDD pilot project, Raúl, the head of the 4th component working team, Andrés, and others from FAN are also there, all listening to the discussion.

Raúl, the manager of the program greets everyone and asks for the indigenous representatives to say some welcoming words in their own language. So, one Chacobo and one Cavineño representative quietly say some sentences. Raúl is passionately shaking his head and smiling, seemingly impressed by the "performance". He starts to applaud when they are finished, "This is a proof that you are truly indigenous" he acclaims, and declares that he thinks they should be very proud of their heritage. After a short presentation of the visitors from afar Raúl gives the floor back to them for a presentation on the work they have done over the past three years.

This was the first event of a three day program, of which the topic of discussion was "indigenous territorial control". The main object of this part of the program was the appointment of indigenous officials that were given motorcycles, fuel, compasses and GPS to monitor their territories. It was important for FAN that it was the indigenous representatives, who had been a part of the program who presented the work. After a general introduction on indigenous peoples' fight for territories that began in 1990, the indigenous representatives started to explain maps showing natural resource conflicts within the different indigenous territories. There were both external and internal natural resource conflicts pertaining to Brazil nuts, timber, hunting areas and cattle. On all of the maps of indigenous territories there were polygonal fields color-coded to represent different natural resources; a green field represented a Brazil nut conflict, etc. FAN staff and the indigenous spokespersons had all rehearsed the presentations, having gone through the facts and maps the day before and the indigenous representatives did a good job. That being said, pointing at the colored fields on the maps and explaining the belonging natural resource conflict it symbolized, made the presentations rather stiff and formal. After a long series of explanations about the hand drawn maps, one of the donors asked impatiently, *"but did you do anything about the natural resource conflicts?"*

3.2 Panopticon

Maps were all around us, the bigger the better. I remember the same maps were shown to me on my first day at FAN's office. The manager's office had a huge map of the project area. In the corners of the office were many more, rolled up and stacked together. If I ever needed more maps, I could just ask. I got the impression that maps were almost produced as ends in themselves. I will hereby present how mapping became a key activity in the production and reproduction of a "manageable" place for the organization, and why they were also frequently used to present results. I will focus on FAN as this is one of their core activities, both producing maps and having mapping workshops with local government officials, teaching them tools like ArcGIS. By creating maps with different features, the same features are visualized, and thereby perceived to become subdued to control and domination. *However*, looking for the effects of the mapping processes on the ground became something of a challenge.

No one explained the role that FAN perceived itself as playing, better than Mauricio, who was responsible for the third component of the program; deforestation. As he explained his job to me the first time we met, he drew this picture on a whiteboard (Figure 3).

A big eye, with three institutions connected to it. ABT (Autoridad de fiscalización y control social de Bosques y Tierra – the forest and land authorities), UFM (Unidad Forestal Municipal – the Municipal forest unit) and the REDD program.

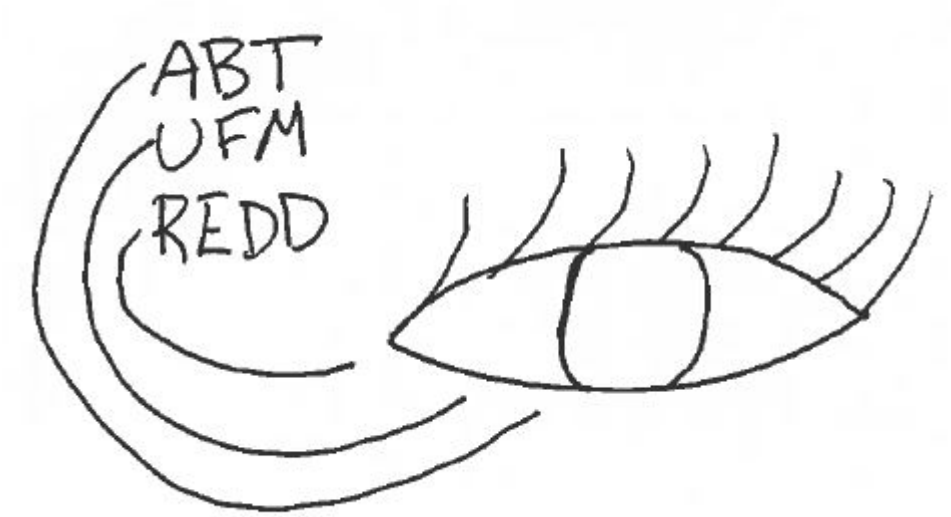

Figure 3 Mauricio's whiteboard drawing. Replication based on my field notes.

He explained that REDD's job was to make the other two institutions increase their control over the forests. From that point on I found it impossible to try to understand REDD without taking into account Foucault and his understanding of Benthams "Panopticism" (Foucault 2008). Panopticon is an architectural innovation of a prison where all of the prison cells are built in a circle inwardly facing an opening. In the middle rises a tower, enabling someone to see into each and every cell in the building. It is a state of complete surveillance and control over each prisoner, who are unable to see or speak to anybody else. Foucault uses this image to describe a type of power that orders and naturalizes relations of discipline. Here I will concentrate on the understanding of panopticon as a vantage point, from where one can exercise power. As he writes;

> "Panopticon must not be understood as a dream building: it is the diagram of a mechanism of power reduced to its ideal form; its functioning, abstracted from any obstacle, resistance or friction, must be represented as a pure architectural and optical system: it is in fact a figure of political technology that may and must be detached from any specific use" (Foucault 2008, 9).

Words like "optical system", "political technology" and "[abstraction from] friction" all relate to my data in an amusing way. It is almost as if Foucault has foreseen something of the political and analytical tools of today. However, his model applies to prisons, hospitals and

schools, not forests. The most obvious difference is the spatial relations of the actors and "targets" of power; another is the confinement of administrative space. Much else is the same, though difficult to imagine when confined to an architectural structure. As seen in the example in which Foucault describes the *administrative* procedures if a plague arrived in Vincenne, outside Paris at the end of the seventeenth century; spaces are partitioned and confined, at specific hours people are locked inside their houses and counted by syndics from the windows. Foucault's Panopticon wishes to describe how to restrict movements and actions in relations between others (for instance trees). In this example it also becomes obvious that all actors are perceived as potential threats (Foucault 2008, 1-5). In my case infrastructure, peasants and forest fires become as important as illegal loggers.

The confined space of a prison is not possible to achieve in nature. The ideal form of the panopticon needs to be configured to fit nature, before it can be put into practical use. The technology of satellite imaging and remote sensing materializes the panopticon in a striking way and is perhaps inevitable in any REDD project today. The watchman in Panopticon's tower has extended his senses though a web of sophisticated technology, materialized in a lap-top. To monitor deforestation in areas with few roads and even less people one is dependent on an "eye" in outer space. I can only speculate that satellite imaging sparked some of the first worries about the extent and rate of deforestation. What is interesting here is to see how this ideal "political technology" is produced in a relational perspective. As far as my interpretation goes we see a drawing of a human eye, not a camera or satellite lens. To achieve greater insight into this, let us take a look at how this technology is operationalized.

At the FAN office in Riberalta I participated together with UFM and ABT staff on a two day workshop in ArcGIS. ArcGIS is computer software that handles and assembles geographic data. When I tried to obtain an observational analytic distance, as I always tried to do in fieldwork settings I was not able to do so. It resembled a typical computer training session that I knew from home. I recognized the dense air of the computer fans. Everyone had a more or less worried expression on their face as they stared at the computer, pushing buttons. As in any computer workshop there was one person that asked too many questions, and one person that think he knows everything, and do not mind following the tidy instructions from the workshop leader, missing out on new learning. Short breaks with finger food, soft drinks and coffee. FAN had flown in a technician working from FAN's main office in Santa Cruz to hold the workshop.

After a general introduction to the different sorts of geographical data that exists we received a CD with the software and geographical information. Much of the geographical information was pre-programed layers of administrative borders and features from Bolivia in general, and the project implementation area in particular. It was a tool-kit for kick-starting the production of space. For example, one layer appeared as a blue surface filling the insides of the borders of Bolivia. It appeared in a sea of blank space. If you moved the pointer of the mouse inside the mapping interface it would give you the exact coordinates to any points in the world. Despite the fact that every coordinate on earth is accessible inside of the computer software, our map of Bolivia was a blue island in nothingness. We had already made a priority and assembled a political alliance of localities. If you adjusted some settings the layer broke into different colors representing the different departments within the country. Adding additional layers represented other geographic or administrative features such as roads, rivers, TCOs, municipalities, and some information about private properties was also accessible.

Downloadable into exact geographic positions were satellite images from a satellite called *landsat* and another called *modis*. However, the satellite pictures needed more processing and interpretation to expose deforestation than for instance *foco de calor*, a forest fire detection service. Via a Brazilian web page we learned how to download almost real time data (one hour lag) on forest fires in the project area, updated by a range of satellites detecting heat spots. These heat spots are rather easy to download as they are only geographic coordinates and not heavy high-resolution picture files that need broad internet bands (which do not exist in Riberalta). If you add a layer of this data with layers of administrative boarders, roads and rivers some of the layers overlap and create images of forest fires within the territory of the REDD project.

To participate in this workshop felt, to some extent, empowering for me personally. By playing with different techniques I internalized the blank spaces of the surrounding “areas” around the hot dark office we were sitting in, staring into our computers. By adding layers of the municipality, roads and TCOs I located forest fires from year’s past and revealed areas where multiple forest fires had taken place. The reduction of forest cover was visible when I changed between a *landsat* image from 2009, and an image from 2011. Light purple plains representing lack of forest cover followed after the dots of heat. Between deforestation and me there was no friction, no obstruction. The dots and images fit together and created a terrifying pattern; that of disappearing forests. We have created (recreated) an emergent

phenomenon across spaces and temporalities. The computer pictures told tales of dark purple spaces eaten by light purple spaces, by the means of heated spots.

At this point in time, I was waiting for transportation for my first journey to TCO Chacobo Pacahuara, so this area became of particular interest for me. As a matter of fact, one of the areas with the most forest fires was within the territory of the Chacobo. I called the leader of the workshop over and he helped me find a layer with information about the private properties inside the TCOs. In the center of the heated dots was a quadrangle with linear borders. It was evident that the private owner had been burning pasture outside of the boarders of his or her property. Very few of the Chacobo live on the pampas or farm there. I asked if FAN had some sort of dialog with reference to what went on within the TCOs in regards of monitoring deforestation. He said no, the TCOs were handled in another part of the program, component four (which is discussed in the next chapter).

By adding layers of administrative boarders and pictures from fine-tuned satellites we have co-opted a large amount of space into the architecture of the Panopticon. Forests, peoples, fires, cattle, complex systems of interaction filled with a meaning of their own, dwelling and interacting with the landscape has been reduced to plains of more or less forest. From this short interaction; between that of a map, a spectacle of communicating colors and the spectator, arrives the noble manager. Just think about it. A huge territory, with all of those actors mentioned and more, is scaled down to become accessible and comprehensible in a moment (or as we express it more *visually* in Norwegian; på et øyeblikk –at a glance). The panopticon no longer needs an idealized architecture to exercise its function; it is created in a micro cosmos between the viewer and the screen or paper.

There are two important questions that arise from these findings. Why are maps and mapping of such importance in the REDD project? And, what sort of interaction and scaling does this mapping produce? The possibility of sanction and discipline has fallen out of the man-computer-equation. I see the forest and the deforestation, but what do I do about it? But first, let us focus on the first question.

3.3 Scaling deforestation

According to Latour (1986) the mobility and immutability of inscriptions creates the foundation of an “enlightened” society. The collection of immutable enables the basis of

elaboration and comparison in which the so called “modern” society is built on. Mapping itself represents a foundational element of Latour’s argument. As maps are mobile, and as immutable as possible, they enable the mobility of a territory as a whole. By very simple means, the maps can be sent anywhere in the world and be compared with other maps, also depicting deforestation. As a visual object it is strikingly accessible, surpassing texts written in foreign languages or other accounts of territories far away. Maps themselves become means of communication of transparency and subordination. You don’t need to drive on flooded roads, cut your way through a thicket with machete or ride in a small motorboat in the crooked rivers to see forests or the lack thereof, you just read the map. Deforestation is scaled to fit in your pocket! Or more precisely, it is scaled to become subdued to the so-called global REDD agenda.

As Latour writes “A man is never much more powerful than the other” but someone “whose eye dominates records through which some sort of connections are established with millions of others may be said to *dominate*” (Latour 1986, 29 original emphasis). The mapping technology has extended the senses of the public officials and FAN staff; they had become the watchmen in Panopticon’s tower. Through a series of maps they are able to establish connections that increase their ability to dominate. The mobility and immutability of maps also increases FAN’s ability to further distribute the information and thereby enhance their own status as managers. This brings us back to the introduction of this chapter.

As far as I observed, in all FANs communiqué, from information pamphlets to reports and web pages, maps had a central position. Maps were also used in the presentations towards donors. It may be, that if the NGO felt they had achieved more comprehensive results, then the presentations would have taken a different form, but the fact that they used maps suggested that they felt they had little else, this says something.

The day before the donor visit, all the available indigenous persons working with the organization had been preparing at the office. With projectors projecting maps on large white sheets on the walls, we were tracing the lines with ink in different colors. FAN staff and indigenous representatives also discussed answers for some of the questions that they knew would come from the donors. I remember one answer particularly well. Andrés asked Tani what he was going to answer if he got a question about how they wanted to follow up the initiative of indigenous “officials” with responsibility of monitoring the territory. FAN’s new project did not have financing to follow up the initiative, but they hoped DANIDA could be

convinced to finance this particular part of the program, as it was them who had financed it in the current term. Tani answered that he would reply that they would search for finance elsewhere. Andrés softly corrected him by repeating two times "you want to search for other sources of support, to sustain the activities". "But", continued Tani, "[NGO] said that they might…", but then he was interrupted by Andrés. "You are searching for strategic institutions to ally with". "Yes", said Tani.

Now, from my vantage point, this was an attempt to scale the project to fit a strict line of argument following a project outline that Andrés as a part of the project leadership was committed to fulfill. If we look to one of the many internal FAN reports we see that the disciplining of the indigenous peoples movements is a matter of concern. Or to frame it less normatively, their perceivably unpredictable pattern of actions is difficult to provide for in a project outline. Andrés' attempt to make Tani fit here is just a small example.

Imagine a neat table lining up opportunities and challenges for the fourth component, regarding the potential for the success of the cooperation between FAN and CIRABO. The tables column for *opportunities* regarding the indigenous partners contains bullet points of the type "TCO authorities are recognized in the higher indigenous organizational structure", and "they have learned lessons from previous NGO experiences" (FAN-Bolivia 2010b). The first statement implies that there is a *disconnection* between the TCOs and the regional indigenous organization, e. g. lack of legitimacy in the indigenous bodies of representation. The second statement implies that the indigenous organization and its representatives ignore, or have not learned from previous experiences with NGOs. In the column of challenges we find that "[the indigenous organizations] need external support to be mobilized and operational" and a bullet point stating "spontaneous use of the territorial resources, lack of planed use" (FAN-Bolivia 2010b). As we read above, "support" means financing. This implies that the indigenous organization will not be active if they do not receive money, and that they are likely to run off and cut a whole bunch of trees; they are not liable for their own actions. As we have seen, to hold the indigenous spokespersons in line with the main arguments in the reports towards the donors has been a challenge. Their wordings and arguments justifying their activities needs to be adjusted to fit a specific scale; their role as one of the territories making up the alliance assembled on the map. If we go back to the Panopticon argument this can be read as an attempt of disciplining the territory where deforestation takes place. By holding the actors enrolled on the program *in place* the effect is a consistent configuration of scale.

As the line of argument was adjusted in the discussion between Andrés and Tani to fit the scale of a donor meeting, we also saw how a particularity was produced in the introductory vignette. After all, it was the indigenous spokespersons, not the NGO, who presented the results to the donors. And, as we might deduct from Raúl's request for a multilingual welcome to the donors and later, his spontaneous cheery reactions, Chacobo and Cavineño language was very important in emphasizing their role as "indigenous".

To scale a successful REDD project to fit the standards of the donors is a lot of work. We have seen a clear two way process that is dependent on many collaborations at different stages. We see how area is tuned and scaled onto papers and boards to become mobile and interpretable, at the same time as we see the production of particularities, where indigenous languages are celebrated, while other "indigenous" attributes perceived as "spontaneity" and unreliability is disciplined. Ultimately, we see a capacitated indigenous representative, proud of her language and heritage, schooled to fit the demands from the modern world. One might say that they fit the maps. Their role is confined to be spokespersons from a specific mapped territory branding the name of an indigenous group; as the map says, the "ancestral communal territories (TCO) of the Chacobo Pacahuara". Their language becomes the proof of their culture and belonging. The idea of an ancestral territory has helped the indigenous people achieve land titles that they now enjoy benefits from.

Based on this example we can imagine that FAN, by exercising some sort of discipline of the indigenous spokespersons, is trying to achieve control over the same maps that they have created. I do not argue that FAN treats indigenous peoples like any other part of the flora, but that the perception of indigenous peoples as easier targets than other actors who are affected by the project (like illegal loggers or cattle ranchers) has led to increased attention towards the participating TCOs. FAN, with its small offices in Riberalta by no means have sovereignty over the mapped REDD areas that they present in their REDD communiqués. We have seen some of the scaling done towards the spokespersons of the territories in terms of the presentations to the donors. The REDD territory is inevitably constructed not by mapping per se, but by interactions and social bonds that we have already observed. Maps are used merely to support an image of superiority and control. All administrative borders making the map are backed up by formal and more and less social commitments. Just look at the project map at the initial stage of the project (Figure 4).

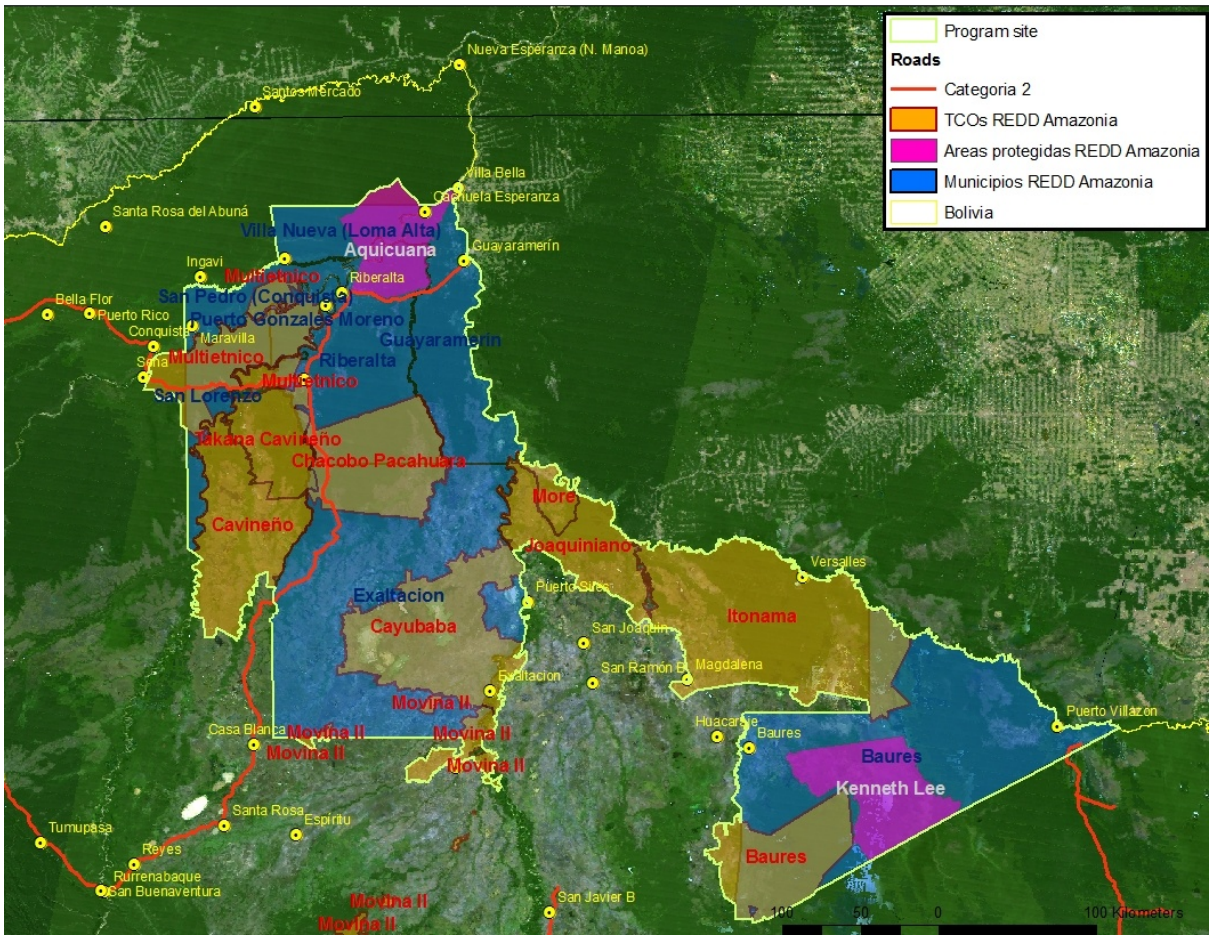

Figure 4 Preliminary boarders of the REDD pilot project

As indicated, the project was thought to involve ten TCOs and eight municipalities. However, according to an internal report of the FPIC process, CPIB and CMIB, the regional indigenous representation of the men and women in Beni rejected the project on several grounds during the advanced negotiations of the details of the program. They rejected, amongst other things, the institutional set-up of responsibilities. They wanted more responsibility assigned to their regional office, and they thought the financial share designated to administration of the project to FAN was too high (CIDOB and FAN-Bolivia 2012). As the institutional ties broke, so did the project map. It might seem like a simplistic point, but it is essential; maps are created through social contracts and interaction. What seems like a map of deforestation is, more than anything, a point of view from a place in the landscape; a point of view shaped by various interactions between people, technology, trees and other non-human actors. Maps developed between Figure 4 and Figure 1 looked just like Figure 1, but without TCO Cavineño, which was only added when Brazil nut gatherers from TCO Cavineño were included in the Brazil nut gatherer association that FAN established in TCO Tacana Cavineño. I was told by informants in CIRABO that the Cavineños always had been skeptical

towards REDD. If you take a look at Figure 1 you will also see that their territory barely has any forest at all, and perhaps question why they are involved in a project that aims to reduce deforestation and forest degradation. Despite how scientific it may look, the mapped landscape is above all a social landscape. The Panopticon is reflected not only as an abstract but in the close relations between people in the landscape.

3.4 Interacting deforestation

We have seen how maps are social and biased towards particular ideologies or political aims, and how indigenous people are, to some extent, scaled onto the map in the presentation of the projects to others. This does not necessarily regulate other forms of interaction on other scales, which I will return to in the next chapters. The question I want to discuss now is; how is deforestation, or any kind of landscape disciplining exercised towards localities outside the indigenous peoples' territories?

Although it may have been formulated differently the question bothered me throughout my fieldwork. Cattle ranchers, who seem to be the largest threat to deforestation in the region, are not directly included in the project. A successful REDD project needs to address the landscape where deforestation take place (Pacheco et al. 2010). We saw above that through a network of technology the senses of a municipal officer are extended throughout the territory of his mandate, and further. But (remote) sensing is one thing, disciplining is another. In a short interview with the responsible person for remote sensing at the local ABT office after FAN's mapping workshop, the officer denied his office's ability to act on the information he had just learned to obtain. With the simple explanation that *foco de calor,* and the other technologies were too advanced, and the information was too heavy to download for the Riberalta office to do something about it. They would only act if the national authorities in Santa Cruz directed them to. Even though his facts contradicted what we had just learned at the workshop, his message was clear. He does not, nor does his office, travel to places detected to be deforested, legal or illegal, at their own convenience. If they were directed to do so by the headquarters however, he explained the process to me. After checking the accessibility of the location a team from ABT would travel to the geographic coordinate and look for the fire raiser. It was taken for granted that these were always cattle ranchers. ABT would give the person fourteen days to demonstrate a legal permit to the land, and if the ranger failed to do so, he would be given a fine.

FAN was aware of this situation, but had only limited options for action. The explanation that was given was that the initial project proposal and its developers had good contact with a previous institution, Superintendencia Forestal (the Forest Superintendency), which was liquidated in 2009 as a result of the new Bolivian constitution. I do not attempt to reconstruct a history of how the project evolved but to retell the perception of the institution in focus, FAN. Why the new public body, ABT, was so difficult to cooperate with is still unclear to me, but hints were given that suggested that MAS, the party in government, had a skeptical approach towards FAN, and that people from MAS now dominated the new institution to a larger extent. I will touch upon this in the last chapter. The options left were limited. One of the activities they pursued was the ArcGIS workshops that I have previously described. Following my earlier argument, the workshops became the closest way that FAN were able to control the surrounding forests, through giving tools to the officials to internalize their own panoptic agency. Another strategy was to ally with the Municipal Forest Unit, UFM. It is a significantly weaker institution in technology and staff, but through a tentatively strong alliance with them and some paperal agency I was told that they could force ABT on inspections. I never observed the actual results from this indirect governing strategy. A last option, which I also explained in the introduction, was to completely shift pasture (literally), and work with cattle ranchers trying to create innovations to increase sustainability in the cattle ranching. To actually pay cattle ranchers not to cut forest had been brought up in a strategy discussion, but were never considered seriously.

As promoters of REDD's agency we see how FAN's maps for implementation dissolve beneath their feet. And there is little they could do about it. In the same interview with the aforementioned ABT official, he gave as his main motivation to attend that the same course would cost a fortune elsewhere. We see the outline of a cooperation where FAN remains an island in the sea, filled with competence and noble managers, while the world outside continues along the lines of "business as usual". As their technical competence remains high, they produce a lot of knowledge and allies that they try to operationalize in relation to outsiders; as maps, reports, methods and strategies.

3.5 Noble managers

This brings us back to another aspect of how FAN perceives their own role when handling relations to others, that as noble managers. The subheading is referring to a long debate in

environmental anthropology where some indigenous practices were coined conservationist or sustainable (e.g. Traditional ecological knowledge), and as it has been used by many NGOs and interest groups later to claim that indigenous peoples stand on a higher moral ground than other (e.g. Brosius 2000, Smith and Wishnie 2000). I was fascinated by the way the staff at the FAN office presented the purposes and the strategies that were behind the REDD project. I would not exaggerate by saying that the institution has a world view that is founded in the notion that everybody makes choices based on economic interest. Considering the history of the institution, born from a US based conservationist organization, this is perhaps unsurprising.

Participating in a sector with a clear normative and moral goal (protecting diversity of Nature) FAN never doubted the ethical ground from which they intervened. Nor did they fail to mention this to outsiders and donors. However, in plans and operational work it became apparent that economic interest was presumed to drive all of FAN's partners, and that staff, primarily at the office, based their relation to outsiders on this. As it becomes clear from my data indigenous people were not viewed as noble, as other REDD master students have seen (e.g. Frotvedt 2012). FAN did not completely avoid the general stigma towards indigenous people in Bolivia, especially Amazonian indigenous groups, but primarily viewed them as groups and individuals with economic interests. The same applied to the municipalities; it was presumed that the institutions inhabited certain interests by the weight of their mandate. This is indeed how the whole 4th component of the program is framed. To many it may seem contradictory to help TCOs to sell timber in the name of forest conservation. My good friend and informant Andrés passionately explained the logic for me.

The Chacobo (as an example) have already sold parts of their forest to outsiders for them to manage it; the TCO would receive a random proportion of money, then the buyer would run off with a large profit, probably at the same time not respect rules and regulations applied to forestry in the area, and additionally doing some illegal logging. The TCO had learned, through component four, how to manage their resources sustainably and learn prices, rules and procedures connected to the trade of timber. This would increase social control over the resource extraction, reduce stress on the resource and increase immediate gains to the TCO. A key component of the involvement of FAN in the timber harvest business, according to Andrés, was an appendix to the contract between the TCO and the company buying timber. It contained rules stricter than the national law. Amongst other stipulations was a 2 % increase

of seed trees (from 20% to 22 %), a reduction of total km of forest truck roads and a reduced breadth of the forest truck roads (FAN-Bolivia 2010a). The reason why they did *this*, instead of buying a sawmill (as we saw CIRABO demanded in the introduction to the thesis), was to protect the environment. A sawmill may have increased job opportunities in the TCO and added value to the timber extraction, but ran the risk of increasing exploitation of the forest. The Chacobo was assembled to the project based on their interest for economic gains if we follow Andrés' explanation. FAN, through its project, channeled these interests in the direction they perceived with the least risk for harmful deforestation. The execution of the forestry program will be the main topic of the next chapter.

FAN perceives themself in relation to others as noble managers, protecting nature in the best way they can, in a landscape of actors with self-interests. To communicate this type of agency, which is a necessity to attract new funds from donors, they use maps. Maps do not only have the capability to support the image of FAN as noble managers, in addition their mobility converts the agency of FANs assemblage of scaled subjects in such a way that donors and other spectators become potential agents. This illustrates two effects of FAN's scaling exercise.

First, the production of the REDD sub-national pilot project is a place-making exercise. Local actors are negotiated with and assembled into a place that fits the so-called global REDD agenda, most visible as a map. Once the place has been made FAN becomes accountable and enjoys the position as a noble manager, sharing its agency with donors, and potentially other agencies dealing with REDD and carbon quotas. The facts on the ground are leveled into a language shared by many within the international governance/environmental sector. It is also the "only" possibility FAN at the time of my fieldwork had to influence the municipal sector. By giving the municipal actors a tool kit of data and methodologies that allowed them to produce the same facts and threats as FAN they hoped that the municipal sector would act on those threats.

3.6 Concluding remarks

The introductory vignette to the chapter concluded with a melodramatic question; *did you do anything about the natural resource conflicts?* Unlike in the movies, in the field a question is most often followed by an answer. Tani looked insecure; this was not a sort of question that

he had been prepared for. I found myself a bit nervous on his behalf. When I had posed the same question to FAN several months earlier I had gotten the reply that it was "muy cumplicado", very complicated. One of the NGO-guys proposed that he told the story of Mrs. Martinez. He nodded his head and started.

"We had this warning that a stranger had entered our territories in the south, so I went there to see how this came about."

He pointed at the middle of the southern straight boarder on the Chacobo map; the area had a colored field drawn with a red indelible pen as vertical stripes. It was a cattle farmer that had settled with her house and everything on the pampas.

"I told her to go, but she refused and said the municipality gave her the land. I had to come back with a GPS and more people. The woman was very stubborn and angry but she eventually joined us on a walk with the GPS. She was afraid that we would take her to the forest, hehe. We turned on the GPS and we started to walk (he looked down on his left hand and demonstrated how they would follow the GPS). Beep… beep… beep, beep, beep-beep-beep-beep-beep-beeeeeeeeeeeee. Here is your land, I told her (pointing in a random direction to demonstrate). Here you can settle with your cattle"[12]

Anna Tsing highlights the double bind in scale-making, that "axioms of unity and collaborations both need each other and hide each other; generalization – with its particularistic exclusions and biases – is produced as the product of this interaction" (Tsing 2005, 90). The colored patches of natural resource conflicts on the maps around us in the fluorescent lighted concrete backyard were in fact stories. They were stories about conflicts taking place between real people in real landscapes that were turned into colors on a map. It might not be surprising after what we have already seen; that FAN's way to address these conflicts was to inscribe them onto a map. Spokespersons had brought the stories about what has happened in the TCOs to Riberalta, and FAN had turned them into taxonomy readable by a larger segment of the development industry. FAN was completely dependent on these testimonies to produce the maps in the first place, but after they had been turned into maps the stories disappeared as if nothing had ever happened.

Luckily for everyone present, the story assembled into line with the general argument that FAN was in control of the situation, Tani fitted the map. But it also becomes apparent that

[12] This is the story as I remember it. I did unfortunately not record or take notes when it was told. The story also came up in another setting. Then, Tani told me that the woman had used a gun to threaten him the first time they met.

ultimately, the people living in these landscapes are left with the responsibility to handle the situations as they appear. That is why it became very complicated for FAN to actually *do* anything with the resource conflict, especially when it involved natural resource conflicts between different ethnicities or communities within the indigenous territories. It was Tani's responsibility to navigate both socially and geographically in the conflict that had appeared along the southern border of TCO Chacobo Pacahuara. The GPS becomes a central actor in the last story, guiding humans and cattle alike. However, I want to stress that the Chacobo ability to attain their land title was the most important prerequisite in this situation.

In the next chapter we will take a look at how the REDD pilot project takes shape from a different outlook in the landscape. We will find that again the architects (FAN) are maybe not the real creators of the forest inventory, as it might seem (Ingold and Hallam 2007).

After crossing ABT's checkpoint for timber and other goods on our way out of Riberalta, we move by motorcycle or car along the graveled road "La integración" heading south for two or three hours. We pass by cattle and a few small farming villages, all with small kiosks hoping to sell goods like crackers, booze or cold soda to the truck drivers passing by. In the Brazil nut season many of them have also stacked up sacks with Brazil nuts along a wall. Suddenly a modest, yellow, square shaped sign appears next to the community of Cachuelita. It indicates that it is possible to turn left, without an indication as to where you will end up. After another forty five minutes to an hour, passing through Motacusal we arrive in Alto Ivon, one of two dwelling points that the next chapter resides in, in the territory of Chacobo Pacahuara.

4 Marking trees, making lines

In the previous chapter we saw how FAN handled the different actors connected to the REDD project at their office. In this chapter I want to take a closer look at the interaction between FAN and one of the TCOs, namely TCO Chacobo Pacahuara, where I spent a significant part of my fieldwork in Alto Ivon and Trinidadcito. In the previous chapter I discussed how FAN creates spaces to put themselves in the position of noble managers, a vantage point for attracting funds. I also discussed the rationale on which FAN acts towards the TCOs. In this chapter, we will see how FAN practically uses space as a medium for action (cf. Tilley 1994) by creating a center of abundance, and how panoptic space is produced through close encounters with trees. Executing the forest inventory by walking in the forest helped both the ethnographer and his informants to internalize a certain gaze, which in the end produced a certain place (Pink 2008, Ween and Flikke 2009). Interestingly, the encounters and practices in the process of making a forest inventory is similar to how carbon measurement is exercised (cf. Erni 2011).

To get a full understanding of the spatial dynamics in the interactions between the Chacobo indigenous people, FAN and the forest it is vital to take a closer look at the Chacobo and how they use space, move and intervene with the landscape. I am primarily concerned with the material interfaces between humans and non-humans, not abstract formulations on how natures, spaces and places are articulated in Chacobo language, tales or other semiotic settings[13]. There are three main reasons for this. The first is that I lack sufficient data. My one and a half months in the TCO did not provide me with sufficient access and trust to gather much data on the subject. Secondly, other data appeared that pinpointed the continuities and discontinuities between FAN, Chacobo people and the forest during the fieldwork. No friction became apparent to me in the interaction between FAN, the Chacobo and non-humans as a result of the Chacobo conceptualization of spaces and places, quite contrarily, I find the opposite in my interactive data, material interactions for the Chacobo and for the forest inventory were similar. Thirdly, forest protection, deforestation and forest degradation is realized through action or inaction, and I personally had a bias towards materiality and action from the outset of my fieldwork.

[13] For more information on this see Bossert and Villar (2002), Córdoba (2008), Erikson (2004).

Laura Rival uses trekking as an analytical and practical tool to describe movement and knowing among the Huaorani (Rival 2002). She starts her analysis with two notions. That the Huaorani simply like to walk, "observing with evident pleasure and interest animal movements, the progress of fruit maturation, or vegetation growth", and that "the Huaorani territory is not definable from without as a well-demarcated space bounded by clear limits on all sides. It is, rather, a fluid and ever evolving network of paths used by people when 'walking in the forest'" (Rival 2002, 1). My finding from the Chacobo deviates from Rival's findings on this point, which becomes more apparent later on. However, using the concepts *predation* and *harvest* inspired by Rival, can contribute to understanding the terms in which the Chacobo enter agreements with outsiders. Similar to Rival (2002) I also found that Chacobo people structure their relation to the forest through the notion of "natural abundance".

To help me understand movement in TCO Chacobo Pacahuara I will utilize some of Tim Ingold's perspectives on movement and lines (Ingold 2007, 2004). As I will concentrate on movement along paths and roads Ingold's understanding of the trace – as a line – will be sufficient for the time being; "the trace is any enduring mark left in or on a solid surface by a continuous movement" (Ingold 2007, 43). Walking and driving became the primary method for me to join my informants and to participate in interactions with the forest landscape. Paths and roads (traces) became our guides that invited us to both expected and unexpected encounters. It became clear that to be in movement was an important way of learning about plants and animals for me and an important way of knowing for my informants. Encounters along paths opened up for conversations, the sharing of memories and knowledge. However, most of the landscapes are met by silence while we walk; the only communication goes along the lines of tacit locomotion (Ingold 2004).

Perspectives on movement and lines will help to understand the production of place (place-making) and space in TCO Chacobo Pacahuara. I also find that it further elaborates on understanding the meaning of mapping at the end of the chapter. As we walk and entangle trees into our social reality and forest inquiry, we also create an advanced and accurate cartographic map to increase availability, readability and mobility of the resources, and so that those who come after us can re-enact our journeys (Ingold 2007, 84).

4.1 Movement in TCO Chacobo Pacahuara

Movement in TCO Chacobo Pacahuara is realized by two means, motorcycles and feet. Because of the increase in the price of Brazil nuts (Stoian and Henkemans 2000) many Chacobo people have invested their new, unprecedented income in increasing their mobility and have bought motorcycles. Most of the motorcycle traffic goes along the only graveled road winding through the TCO, passing through many of the central villages ending in Trinidadcito. But the motorcycles are also used on the extensive network of paths crossing or branching out of the road, mainly leading to important harvest centers for Brazil nuts. Walking is still the only way to hunt and gather. Only when walking can one devote their attention towards the information complex that a sub-tropical rainforest consists of.

As I participated in different forms of natural resource extraction I noticed that there were different ways to walk in the forest. For example, to walk to a place we used a fast pace, following the most treaded traces. I experienced, by walking with Chacobo people while they were doing different tasks, that hunting was mainly to walk with the ears, and gathering was mainly to walk with the eyes.

As I dwelled in Alto Ivon at the end of the zafra, the Brazil nut season, and my host Bari traded Brazil nuts from the TCO to Riberalta, we spent a lot of time driving to the different Brazil nut centers in the TCO, bringing the sacks back to Alto Ivon. The centers were accommodated with access for motorcycles and consisted of a modern built storage houses with clearing from the ground, good ventilation and sheet metal roofing to protect the nuts from the rain. Around the centers were large networks of paths leading to larger and smaller gatherings of Brazil nut trees.

The mode of walking during the Brazil nut harvest was very dependent on our sight. To find a Brazil nut tree we had to look up. The characteristic tree crowns of the Brazil nut trees ranged over the canopies, and was easy recognizable. Moving from the path towards the tree, we almost always found a trace through the bushes, humble results of over 20 years of Brazil nut gathering. Approaching the tree is again to look up; where does the radius from the stem start where the nuts have fallen down from the crown? A bit inside this particular radius from the stem I discovered in some places a tendency, a soft touch, of a ring around the stem; feet stepping strategically in a ring to look for nuts all around the tree. The trees were domesticated by the recurring movement that weaved the trees into the sociality of the traces.

We would walk back and forth, with our eyes focusing downwards for the characteristic texture of the Brazil nut coco-like pods on the uneven ground. Sometimes it hid in a piled of leafs surrounding a small bush, other times it laid open only to be collected. Back on the path, the pods would be opened by a machete, and the nuts put in a bag or a homemade rucksack.

The mode of walking while hunting was very different. First of all, the aim is to get away from traffic and chacos[14], using well-treaded paths, as fast as you can. In and around Alto Ivon this might pose a problem, anywhere else it doesn't. Outside of traces and paths, the hunt begins. The pace is faster than when gathering. Focus is further ahead, you stop occasionally to listen. A lot of effort is put into not making noises. Trained feet move silently through the forest with full focus ahead. I had to look a lot down, without being impressionably silent. If my companion was not familiar with the terrain, he cut branches and twigs along the way so we could find our way back again. In this sense, you can say we were out of place, or in space, and had to inflict the trace as we moved in the landscape. Taming the chaos and wilderness into a passage we could move through. It opened for new encounters; the game animals that we were searching for. As I will describe later this is very similar to the way movement happened when the forest inventory was performed.

On the few hunting trips that I participated in, we always crossed familiar landscapes, (to me) invisible places earlier occupied by grandfathers or relatives. Residing in them was stories of the past and, in one place, edible plants to harvest. Stories were of pride and of better returns from the hunting. Knowledge about plants and animals was also shared while we were in movement in the forest. For instance, when I asked questions in Alto Ivon about medicinal plants I usually got the reply from my informants they did not know much about the medicinal plants[15] in the forest. But, when we were out walking I could get Castilian and Chacobo names and medicinal uses for many plants.

A last notion when it comes to use and movement in the landscape; as I was participating in preparatory trips for the forest inventory and as I participated in driving around with Bari to the different Brazil nut centers to collect the heavy sacks with Brazil nuts, there was much waiting involved. Whenever there were breaks there was no time to sit down, but instead to

[14] A chaco refers to small plots, often lying close to each other where swidden cultivation is practiced. Usually maize, yucca, plantain or rice is produced on these fields.
[15] Ethnobotanist Brian Boom has earlier found that the Chacobo have medicinal uses for 65 % of the ferns found in the flora around Alto Ivon (Boom 1985).

browse the close surroundings. At the centers, people had left vegetables unharvested. A chaco nearby might offer some plantains, and if not, there was always a whole range of fruit trees. Some fruits would be eaten and some would be brought back to the house as gifts.

I can only account for the migratory patterns in the TCO for the time that I was there. The pattern in this period seems rather clear. When I arrived in the end of February the school was closed because everyone was out on the zafra. The many houses around the football field making up the center of the community stood mostly empty. People live in or around the Brazil nut centers in the zafra that lasts between December and March. Trinidadcito, where I walked with Papa Toledo a couple of weeks later to participate in the gathering of nuts, was almost empty when I arrived there. He reported that more than 50 people had been there at the height of the season this year. He was the first to come, and the last to leave. The few young guys I had been able to connect with in my first weeks in the TCO were leaving for Riberalta when we approached April. The money from the zafra was spent, and now they were going to search for jobs as carpenters in Riberalta. Those who didn't go to Riberalta started to work on their chaco.

4.2 Harvest/predation

For the sake of clarity I have chosen to separate my observations on the Chacobo people's relationships to outsiders into two categories; *harvest* and *predation*. These will help illustrate how Chacobo people relate to the REDD project.

As we have seen, movement in the TCO indicates a pattern of movement towards areas with an abundance of natural resources. "Modern" Chacobo life in the circles around the Brazil nut harvest centers in the Brazil nut season. Before the rubber market collapsed in the 90s the rubber trees had the same effect (Córdoba 2012). Living in a place with an abundance of natural resource harvesting is still the way of life for most Chacobo people, even though they now also harvest also as a way to earn income, and not only to survive. Stories about people leaving their chaco without waiting for the crop to return and people that refuse to pay monetary debt prove a stubbornness in adapting to the sedentary life imposed by the

missionaries. This makes them comparable to the Chewong with their problems to adapt from a "immediate return society" to a "delayed return society" as described by Howell (2011)[16].

The general notion that the Chacobo live in a place of natural abundance is strengthened by my observations that all kinds of trees with valuable fruits (value by both appreciation of taste and convertible value) were cut down without significant regret[17]. The abundance in fruit trees seems to be everlasting with few people in a large forest. To find out what this abundance consists of one merely has to take a short walk to explore the surroundings before finding something valuable. Later, we will see how FAN also creates a center of abundance when they execute the forest inventory.

Predation takes its starting point in a more abstract human-human relational perspective. However, it is also more articulated by the people themselves. Here I will use the term predation only as a mean to clarify my own material, inspired by, but not entangled in the wider anthropological Amazonian debate about predation (Rival 2002, Chapter 8). As a foreigner in Alto Ivon, the first stories I heard when I arrived were stories of other foreigners. With a few exceptions the stories were about people who had been predating on the Chacobo people. Here is an example.

"He came here to learn about the traditional medicines that we have here in the forest. He went to the forest and brought all these different plants back to Alto Ivon. People helped him name them and mentioned if they had specific uses, he wrote everything down. When he left he promised us that he would send us modern medicines. We never heard from him again".

Whether this story is true or not is of course of less importance. The main point is that the people I talked to had an idea that they were being used for different purposes without getting anything in return. I personally encountered problems due to this understanding. As a naive white man I said "no thanks" to paying people to take me into the forest and teach me things, as the community president in Alto Ivon suggested that I do. The result was that he obstructed

[16] For more literature on the Chacobo transition to a sedentarized life see Erikson (1999), Erikson and Granero (1988)

[17] Some indigenous leaders told me about their worries on the "palmito", or heart of palm. "Palmito" is a palm (Euterpe oleracea) where seasonally the top 50 cm of its stem consisting of a growing soft bud that can be sold. It is often used in salads. The palm needs to be cut down to access the commercially interesting part. The palm has been harvested in a high tempo and is now difficult to find in some areas. The same worried indigenous leaders attributed side effects from the activity to be less water in the rivers, less birds (they eat the fruit), and reduced water content in the soil leading to slow forest degradation.

my work first by limiting my access to the TCO, then limiting my access to informants when I first came to Alto Ivon. At one point I figured out what was going on, and admitted that I had a small post on my budget to buy a gift to the community (the president of Alto Ivon wanted me to spend it on a grass trimmer, so I did). I had arrived with FAN, and nobody confronted me with the problem or asked me to leave. This may also be partially because of the tension between FAN and the community, as I arrived with them. The president and some others simply would answer my questions shortly and discretely avoid me. After having figured out the situation my thoughts went to Briggs (1970), who was socially excluded during her fieldwork among the Inuits without even noticing it.

The clearest observation where this narrative has been employed might be the introductory vignette I used at the outset of my thesis, where the president of CIRABO, the former "capitan grande" in TCO Chacobo Pacahuara, accuses FAN to carry the names of the indigenous only to profit themselves. Rival found that the Huaorani "treat powerful outsiders and dominant forces as sources of endlessly renewable wealth" (Rival 2002, 186), and by this reproduce themselves as a marginal group. I suggest we can find similarities in the way Chacobo representatives relate to others, and in the ways that they employ narratives of predation to naturalize this relation.

4.3 The straight line to new encounters

By creating a state of abundance FAN attracts workers to participate in the yearly forest inventory that they execute as a part of the REDD project. By employing villagers the organization develops the management plan that is the basis for the sale of timber to logging companies. When I arrived back to the TCO in May, after the weeks of doing interviews with Cecilie Hirsch, I was caught by surprise. A rectangular grid was superimposed on the natural landscape by tidy "macheteros", men working with machete. When I had moved along the paths around Trinidadcito searching for Brazil nuts months earlier together with "Papa" Toledo, I found it particularly strange how the management plan[18] was taking shape. For us, the forest had been chaotic and our movement much restricted by the stream running past

[18] This yearly event was a part of a 20-year long management plan developed by FAN. The yearly inventory treated 1/20 of the plans total area, as is regulated by Bolivian forestry law. The principle of the management plan is that you can come back in 20 years and harvest the same amount of timber. However there is lack of evidence that this function in practice.

Trinidadsito. The well-tended traces we had followed laid naturally in the landscape avoiding obstacles and made walking to our targets, the Brazil nut trees, easy. Now the landscape was pierced by long straight lines with regular intervals. The map (Figure 5) was actually inflicted upon the ground.

The workforce was brought every Sunday from Alto Ivon, a 45 minute drive to Trinidadcito, with FAN's pick-up truck. Around 20 men and 3-4 women responsible for cooking were present in Trinidadcito every week. The work was fairly automatized and when I arrived, they had been working for a week. This was the third yearly inventory many of them did together with FAN. Antonio, FAN fieldworker and forest engineer, had left the day I arrived for some important personal business. The men worked in 4 teams, 3 machetero teams making lines, and one survey team counting trees. Every day they started from "the mother line", a 4,1 km long, broadly cut straight line conveniently passing just a few meters from our encampment. At every 100-meter mark along the mother line the teams of 4-5 started to clean a path following a compass going westwards.

The civilization of the forest started with 3 men with machetes in the lead, one person with a 25 meter rope, marking with a stick and a red plastic marker the length from the mother line after every 25 meters, and a "director", a person aiming with the compass, guiding the 3 macheteros to cut the right branches so that the line became straight.

Unlike the Brazil nut paths, we quickly encountered difficult terrain moving in a compassed direction without regarding the natural landscape. A rather broad and deep stream that fed the encampment with water went straight through the territory of the inventory. It had to be crossed several times a day. Bushes, fallen trees, bee hives, there was a range of obstacles along the lines that that we had to overcome. Lianas, branches, small trees were cut, so that when we turned back, we saw an opening revealing at least two or three sticks with red marks behind us.

Along the lines we encountered many things; some chose to bring a rifle, in case we met animals. One team that did not bring a rifle brought back a baby "taitetu" (Tayassu tajacu) to the encampment one day, an Amazonian animal that resembles a pig, which they had stolen from its mother.

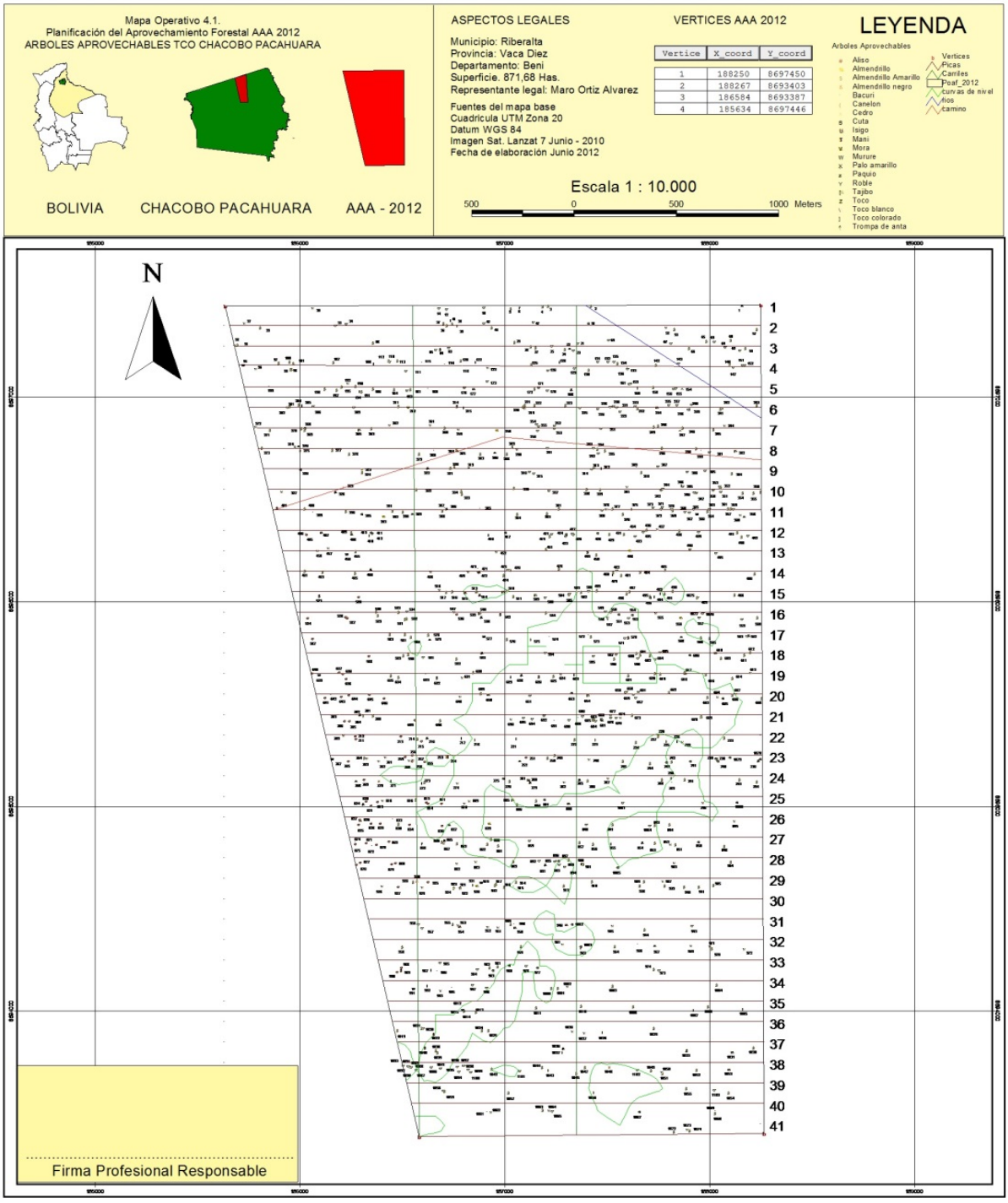

Figure 5 The finished geographical product the forest inventory: The dots represent the harvestable trees we met during the inventory minus 22% seed trees to be saved for later.

One time when I walked with the macheteros we passed a huge tree along the trace we were making, and the guys started to discuss. Was it a “cuta”? Or not? The guys turned to me, as if I would know the answer. I didn’t. That day we also stumbled upon a hollow tree with harmless honey beehive. On our way home that day we tapped the honey.

Most of the time I walked with the survey team led by Luca, a man who was a “local technician” to the project and the only Chacobo present who received a monthly salary from FAN. They had the responsibility to register the trees. We would start from the mother line and walk along the traces that the macheteros had made, represented by the lines numbered 1, 2, 3 in Figure 5. On each side of the trace there was a man to spot and identify commercial trees. From the lineal trace you could hear machetes knocking on wood, some louder than others. The knock was answered by a confirming shout from Luca with his table standing in the trace, usually along the lines of “oooh” or “eee”. If they were close, he would just answer with a “si?” (Yes?). Then came the information, called out in a low register of the voice so that the message would carry through the thick forest. “Species: oak”, “height: 12 [meters]”, “diameter: 60 [cm]”, “quality: 1 [of 3]”. Everything was written down on Luca’s table. The tree spotters were equipped with iron badges and an indelible pen. A badge was nailed to the tree and inscribed with the information coming back from Luca; the number of the tree, left or right to the trace, and the number of the trace where it was discovered. Luca would note on his table the distance from the mother line, if the tree was left or right of the trace, and the tree’s distance from the trace so that Antonio could generate the map above (Figure 5).

I was surprised to find that even the survey team also had trouble from time to time to identify the correct tree species. There was in total 20 tree species that participated in the inventory. Leaf structure, tree posture, bark texture, meat color, and even smell was used to get all the data and specifications right. Luca told me, that last year they had counted a useless tree as a fairly valuable one, leading to a frustrated timber company that didn’t get as valuable a tree species as they expected. Also height and diameter were estimated to the lower end, so that they didn’t end up owing the company for a return they couldn’t deliver.

Whenever we arrived at the end of a trace (walking from the mother line towards west), we would walk randomly to the south, hoping to meet the next trace that the “matcheteros” had made. It was surprisingly difficult. Without the guidance of the imposed traces I was lost in the forest chaos, and we used quite some time to arrive at the end of the next line. It felt almost as if we became lost in the white nothingness on the map!

I had trouble keeping up with the rest of the survey team, especially at distances with few trees. However clean the traces were, there were roots to kick and lianas that chipped. After the second day of walking I had blisters all over my feet, and felt rather beaten up. The third day something happened. After plastering up my feet I joined the others in the team for a new

day of walking. To save my feet and energy I was forced to walk differently. My tread was lighter, and my balance changed. Blisters on my heels were hurting and my knees were tired. That had happened before, but this was the first time I went to the forest for so many consecutive days. In my field notes I describe that I found that day that it was better to attack the forest with the left foot. It gave me a better drive, balance and direction. Probably several things happened to the way I moved, tacit things. But, I discovered that I could go on like this and that I wasn't falling behind as much as I used to.

I was satisfied that day when I came back to the camp but I didn't expect any compliments or remarks. I had never gotten one before, so I didn't expect anything now either but a member of the survey team commented on it. He said that I was starting to keep up with the team, and move better, while he mimed my movements. I was in the process of being disciplined by the forest.

While walking there is a tacit two way dialog between the body and the forest. The amount of plants, trees, palms, leaves, lianas, alive, rotting, humus, and animals are overwhelming and dominating. The body communicates with this landscape, learning how to cooperate as time goes. Regarding the Chacobo people's lack of knowledge about trees I have no well-founded explanation. One explanation could be that the trees have never been of much use, and therefore have been an uninteresting part of the green chaos. In many ways, we can say that the Chacobo workers had also learned about the forest in new ways, the modern manageable forest as a place. To paraphrase Pink (2008, 192) from the article "An urban tour. The sensory sociality of ethnographic place-making"; the way we had walked along lines and marked trees had led to an embodied and reflexive engagement with the discourses, materiality, sociality and sensoriality of a particular way of understanding the forest.

4.4 Entangling lines, entangling truths

What we have seen is in many ways an exercise in place-making. Specificity is produced by the close encounters between humans and trees in a blank space on the map (Figure 5).

Ingold's view on maps can help us understand the two folded process that had been going on in front of my eyes. Ingold believes that there are two types of maps, the sketched map and the cartographic map. He argues that "… the lines on the sketch map are formed through the gestural re-enactment of journeys *actually made*, to and from places that are already known

for their histories of previous comings and goings." (Ingold 2007, 84 original emphasis). However, the lines of cartographic maps "…signify occupation, not habitation. They betoken as appropriation of the space surrounding the points that the lines connect or – if they are frontier lines – that they enclose" (Ingold 2007, 85). Let's discuss the sketched map first.

Along the lines, meetings and encounters had been realized, and they had been approached with the same curiosity and mindfulness as other encounters in the forest. Systematically entangled into it were all commercially valuable trees on foot on the 861 hectares of forest. The lines were real traces inflicted on the landscape, made for future comings of the timber company. The lines and the dots on the map consisted of meetings *actually made,* some closer and more sensational than others. The meetings had a temporality, but through the inflicted traces and the inscription on tables, they were made to be repeated.

Like any other harvest, the harvesting of trees is a job, a performative movement and a practice in an abundant and chaotic landscape. The center of abundance in TCO Chacobo Pacahuara over these three weeks consisted of the immediate return of food, salaries and forest products and the delayed return of the trees that were now assembled into the nature and network of trade.

The forest has made its appearance not as a place as such, neither for the Chacobo nor on FAN's maps, but rather a chaos that needs to be domesticated, tamed by lines on maps and traces of knowledge (Ween 2012). From these practices it was possible to turn the chaos into a manageable place.

So Ingold's second understanding of (cartographic) maps, as occupation and appropriation, is also true in this empirical case. An enclosed place has been produced. There is a clear inside, and a clear outside on this map (Figure 5), and what is on the inside is marketable. The owner of the outlined properties can change. As the first phase of making a place is determined, the next phase of appropriation and transformation can begin.

Specificity has been produced, but it is not any random form of specificity. It is a landscape of counted and measured standardized goods that is assembled and sold to the highest bidding company around the corner of the process. This "local" fits both the standards of Bolivia's national forest law, and the demands of the international timber market.

In the end, one can question whether the often portrayed passive "beneficiaries", in this case the Chacobo workers, also is standardized into an international model of the local. And while they do fit the model from afar, seen from the close encounters between FAN and the forest their expertise and tacit knowledge is the glue that makes the realization of the inventory possible. According to a FAN informant, the Chacobo workers are much more effective in executing the inventory than external workers.

From the Chacobo side, I tried to provoke or ask for views on the unnaturalness of the whole process as I experienced it (I experienced it as a huge static grid inflicted on the landscape). But, amongst my informants, there was no trace of a similar perception. To cut traces, explore, harvest and research was just another day of discovery in the rich forest. Trees constituted a potential wealth that the Chacobo associated with outsiders, as I was expected to know the tree species, and the camp provided food. Someone once made a remark about the contradictory fact that they were cutting trees to save the forest, but it was not made into a big argument.

With the soft touch of a compass the Chacobo, with all their walking tacit knowledge, were weaving out a rectangular grid on the forest landscape. Two things were happening simultaneously. The rectangular formalized maps were inflicted on the landscape, necessary to facilitate close encounters within the chaos that the forest constituted. The empty space of "green" on the map becomes value laden and social as some parts of the biosphere is highlighted, whilst other parts remains a part of the silent chaos. By participating in these practices the workers in the project also produce a forest and practice a gaze that is new to them (Pink 2008).

It is also clear that the Chacobo have shown a willingness and effort to adapt to the outside society in an interesting way, considering that they were "civilized" as they say, as late as in the 1950s. Above I pointed to Rival stating that the Huaorani territory does not consist of demarcated land, rather a "fluid and ever evolving network of paths" that they move by (Rival 2002, 1). The Chacobo have taken their territory and legal boundaries more seriously. Taking a look at another map of the territory also developed by FAN (Figure 6), we find that along all important travelable lines (roads and rivers, Fortaleza, Firmeza and Siete Almendros cover Rio Benecito, which for some reason is not marked on the map), there is the regular appearance of villages. The story goes that when the Chacobo were applying for their land title in the 90s, the head of the TCO at the time ordered people to spread out to cover the full

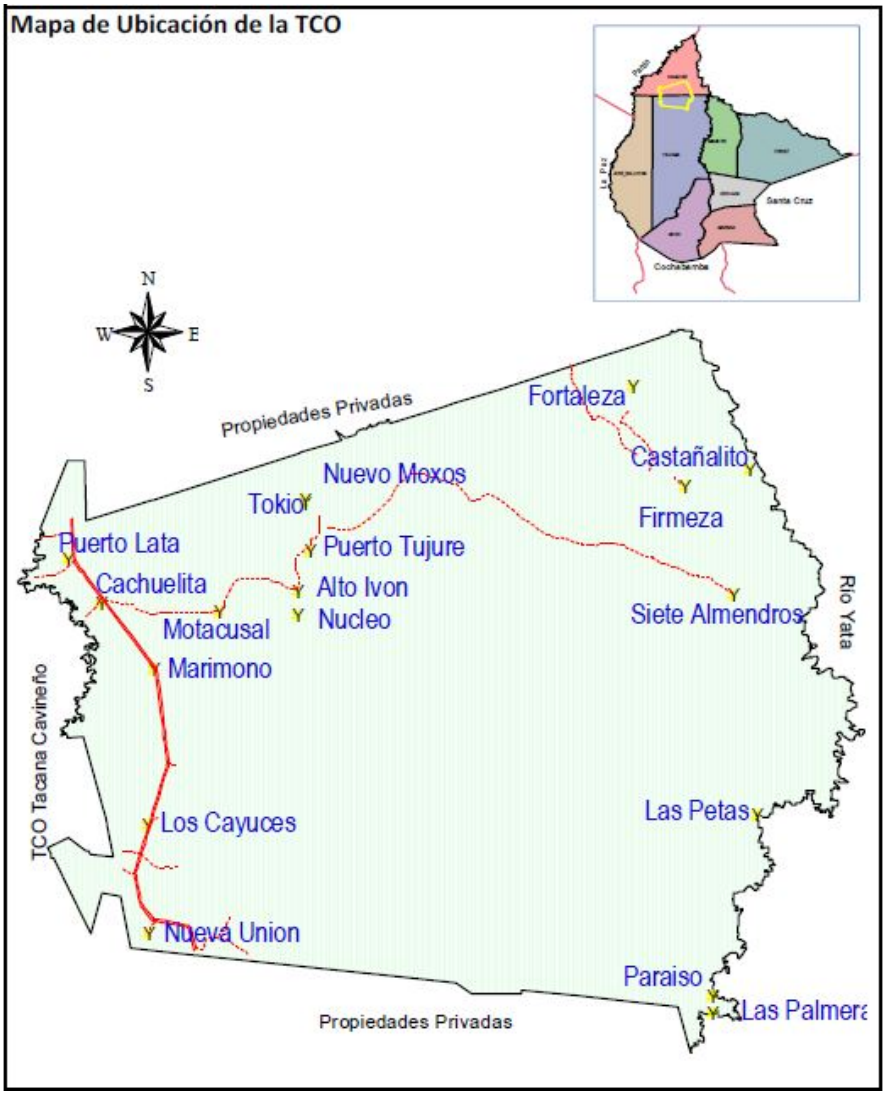

Figure 6 Overview Communities in TCO Chacobo Pacahuara

territory, and particularly the borders. Thus, they have been actively partaking in appropriating their territory. You can say that they have a very *literal* way of reading the map. To paraphrase Ingold (2007, 87); these are also communities of occupation, not only habitation.

4.5 Place-making to what end?

In the introduction I mentioned that it was apparent that FAN uses space as a means for action. Now how did the different actors in this chapter regard space "as a medium for action, a resource in which actors draw on in their activity and use for their own purpose" (Tilley 1994, 20)?

I do not attempt to make a point about how the Chacobo were "exploited" in their good faith to participate in something they didn't know the consequence of. If that had been the case, they would have pulled out a long time ago. They had already seen areas where the forest trucks and chainsaws had been, and several indigenous representatives were involved with the

process of selling the timber to potential companies. The making of the forest management plan was also approved by all parts of the indigenous organization.

Rather, I want to show how the Chacobo workers used space as a means for action in a way that coincided with the way FAN used spaces as a mean for action, at this geographical location, in this forest, at this point in time. This resulted in the successful production of a place, a micro-universe of manageable forest.

Meeting FAN in a space of natural abundance enabled a successful collaboration between the partners. By walking together in the forest, trust and mutual respect was built between Antonio, who was the FAN fieldworker, and the responsible Chacobo counterparts. This is obvious by the mere fact that Antonio was *not* present during the last two weeks of the inventory. He had taught the "macheteros" and the "indigenous technicians" all they needed to know. They communicated on an equal scale through the tables that the survey team filled out, the information that Antonio used to generate Figure 5. And even more importantly, they practiced scale equally, in the way they handled human/non-human relations; social and material relations were produced along lines of exploration and encounters. There is little significant difference between making a straight line to register trees, and cutting your way through a foreign forest to hunt. It was only the soft touch of the man responsible for the compass that made the line straight.

Arriving back at the FAN office in Riberalta however, made me aware that the pigs and the honey and the lianas and the aggressive bees and the people were gone (Figure 5). The information is scaled to new encounters and to make space for new actors. As we saw in the last chapter, stories are yet again reduced to lines, dots and colors of occupation on a two-dimensional paper to the benefit of its increased mobility.

4.6 Fragmented or complete panoptic inclusion?

In many ways my argument, specifically in this chapter, resembles those of James Scott in "Seeing like a state" (1998). Based on accounts from Soviet to modern forestry and large scale agriculture he argues that large scale-schemes to improve the human condition have failed. While Scott often choose to look at effects, for example how the simplification through maps allowed "the reality they depicted to be remade" (1998, 3), I have focused on the performativity of the collaborations of the actors involved, to highlight the complexity of the

dynamics in the making of the maps, and to uncover the plentiful operations that is necessary to produce certain scales.

However, my findings may be accused of leading to some of the same results as Scott points to. If we see REDD as a part of tendency towards the neo-liberalization of nature, a perspective that is quite common in many civil society organizations and social movements (e.g. Tiquipaya Declaration 2010) and also found amongst scholars (Stephan 2012), it might be understood as "an agency of homogenization, uniformity, grids, and heroic simplification [of space]" (Scott 1998, 8). I do not deny these accusations, but what becomes interesting in this regard, is (yet again) scale.

Ferguson (2005) challenges Scott in that the spatial results from 20th century socialist state projects cannot be equalized with the processes involved in large scale capitalism. His argument is based on his experiences from Africa that capital does not participate in standardization and the making of grids but that it rather "jump from point to point" (2005, 379), in his case between secreted oil platforms to gated offices.

It's true that in our example, careful scrutiny has led to a socialization of particular elements of the forest, and that its spatial specificity is of importance in the forest inquiry's role as "local". Outside of our management plan, maps are infinite spaces of insignificance. In this case, our some hundred hectares of forest might be compared to Fergusons description of mineral findings secreted from larger spatial (political and economic) configurations. An enclave is made to fit a configuration of scale that jumps to other points. Both the decisions and the trees are transferrable across spatialities, through their mobility as maps and data.

However, if the production of the forest inventory is compared to that of the carbon measurement, we find something interesting. My informants expressed that there were significant similarities between the methods involved in forest inventories and the methods involved in carbon measurement[19]. The most significant here is that they were both produced along lines or grids.

[19] The measurement of carbon was phased out of the FAN project after the establishment of a carbon baseline in 2010, for reasons described in the introduction. Methodologies for carbon measurement are described in Erni (2011) and FAN-Bolivia (2010c). Some of my informants had also participated as "technical staff" or laborers during the establishment of the carbon baseline.

With the help of *landsat* images, the closely scrutinized specificities made by sensory/material interaction (black dots in Figure 7) were elaborated to count for different types of biotic regions deducted from the satellite images (generalized by color code). On this basis they were made to count for a whole region, through a series of mathematic operations of generalizations (FAN-Bolivia 2010c). Perhaps it is unnecessary to say that this landscape was the political configuration of the REDD pilot program (Figure 7). Maybe my material points out a "third way" between Ferguson and Scott?

All biomass contains carbon; you can almost call it the matter of life. All of it is counted and included in a CO^2 baseline. This may suggest the advent of a completely new way of looking at control and resource management. FAN's forest inventory took the Chacobo laborers out for a walk to make a place and adopt a particular gaze at the landscape. The place made remained within the realm between material and social encounters. Carbon is also socialized through the same encounters, in those black dots that are marked in Figure 7. When we were out walking in the forest, inventory oak trees where often pointed out because of their value. But once, also a big leafy tree ahead of us was pointed out, *"the bigger leaves the more carbon!"* I was told. The gaze of forest-as-carbon is also a sensory and empirical matter.

This leads to a significant reconfiguration of scalability and agency; *from* the places made manageable through traces in the forest, *to* the places where those whose eye dominate inscriptions where connections can be established are located (Latour 1986). Pálsson (2004) documented that a similar development in Icelandic fisheries has led to poorer environmental management. When the resource users no longer partake in the resource planning and there is no diversity of landscapes, only large spaces filled with unequal intensities of carbon, then how will good choices and practices take place?

As Tilley (1994, 27) reminds us, "The ability to control access to and manipulate particular settings for action is a fundamental feature of the operation of power as domination". It is not enough only to have inscriptions from outer space. This type of power needs to be operated from centers where a very specific set of inscriptions are available. Centers that should look something like those encountered in the last chapter.

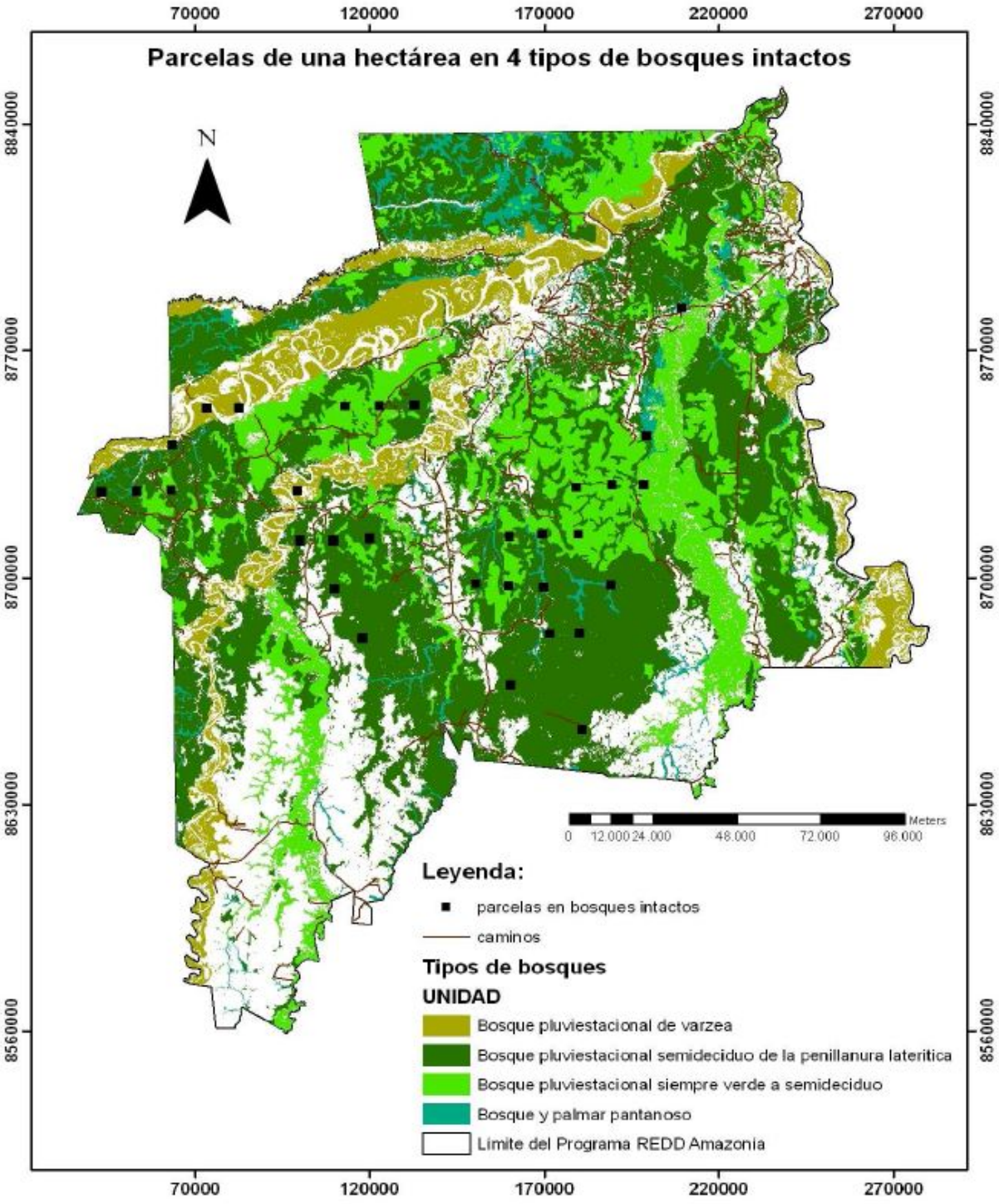

Figure 7 Measurement points for carbon in 4 types of intact forest. The data from these points is used to elaborate a baseline of carbon stock in the REDD pilot-project

However, it is the lack of means to operate this sort of disciplining power that remains the elephant in the room in my material, an elephant that was pointed to already in the beginning of the third chapter, by a visiting donor. How will this power take shape? By whom will it be operated? Will it ever be effective? Without it, the landscapes and spaces of the Chacobo

remain within the ways that they practice and utilize them. While only the forest inventory participate in the network of the "global" market, a finding similar to Ferguson's.

4.7 Successful and unsuccessful collaborations

The web keeps expanding. We have now seen how lines acted as good mediators for collaboration between trees, FAN and the Chacobo workers that participated in the forest inquiry. In the last chapter we saw how FAN structured their relation to others through the lens of "the noble manager", and in this chapter we have seen that my material on the interfaces between the Chacobo and others can be organized in "predation" and "harvest" types of relations. These relations exist parallel to each other and function, to a certain extent, in combination. The forest inventory was completed at the same time as the meeting between CIRABO, FAN and the donors that was discussed at the beginning of the thesis. Indeed, it might seem like this is a form of strategy in which the Chacobo reproduces themselves as a marginal group in the relation to others, treating the others like endlessly renewable wealth (Rival 2002).

By finding common grounds of collaboration the Chacobo and FAN engage in a place-making exercise that makes some hundred hectares of forest mobile and "immutable". "Immutable" because when the journeys are to be re-enacted the sensed diversity of the forest is everything except mute, while it disciplines the body to cooperate. A chaos is transformed into a limited number of manageable socialized individual trees through traces of encounters. This chapter has been a demonstration of how complex and heterogeneous the processes that turn into such simple scaled maps can be. A range of preconditions needs to be in place to establish a platform of performative relations (Callon 1986).

But what is it that I have witnessed? A small place or dot on a map integrated in a large network of transactions of standardized goods called the global market (Ferguson 2005), or practices that also can say something about the integration of a blank space into a panoptic place that allows for the remaking of the place itself (Scott 1998)? It seems to be the former. Without effective tools or alliances to halt or discipline practices in the landscape that are considered negative, FAN struggle to deliver reduced deforestation and protect the valuable colors on the map. An interesting study would be to explore how the landscape and the

relations between the different actors would have taken shape with the means of implementation that is necessary to protect carbon.

It seems like there are few incentives that have any effect or alter the composition and collaboration between the different actors without REDD money, and without the possibility of disciplining in this chaos of landscapes and paths sometimes called a forest. However, it would be a terrible mistake to fail to recognize the complex mosaic of landscapes and practices that the forest consists of, in a potential REDD managerial scheme. Simplification is necessary in all managerial relations, but when has simplification gone too far? Carbon may perhaps be the answer to that question in the future.

5 The mobility of a message

In the last two chapters we have come to understand how the different actors involved in the REDD pilot project in North-Eastern Bolivia produce places that, to different degrees, fit or aim to fit the purposes of the REDD agenda. By looking *behind* the process of making maps I have untangled some of the operations that are necessary to make "local"; manageable territories and manageable forests. The operations involved are highly manual and involve a range of sensible interactions with non-humans in the forest. They also involve building alliances across institutions. We have seen how maps as products are mobile and immutable, an essential attribute to a terrain, to someone who wants to dominate it. In all levels of simplification are detachments which are ultimately political and all maps become in and of themselves actors in new interfaces; they communicate the subordination and manageability of territories as a part of FAN's communication where they are noble managers.

REDD *is* dependent on the mobility of neutralized/politicized data to function. We have seen now how some of these data, scaled entities, are produced. But, REDD is also dependent on the mobility of its outline and functioning to be able to be accepted in a process of "Free prior Informed Consent".

CIDOB has been an important door-opener for REDD in terms of how the organization has accepted to participate in the pilot project. Here, I will take a closer look at how messages are conveyed within the organization, and how CIDOB relate to the political and ecological landscapes in which they are at all times participants in. I intend to do this by looking at the introduction of another new concept to the organization; "Green Economy". This has been possible through the openness and transparency of CIDOB in decision-making processes, and could not have been explored in any of the other institutions I have studied. It is interesting to try to understand efforts towards consolidating a movement that aims to represent the views of a many-folded movement like the indigenous peoples of the lowland Bolivia, consisting of 34 ethnicities with different world-views and life-worlds, people living completely different lives across dry and wet, hilly and flat dwellings.

When I set out to learn about the REDD process in Bolivia before I went on my fieldwork I often found myself frustrated and confused. The messages from the indigenous organizations seemed to be inconsistent and arbitrary on REDD-issues. In Bardalen (2011), I read that there

was a confusion between CO^2 and oxygen, and that some indigenous groups refused to participate in the FAN-REDD project that was going on. In the news coverage from the CIDOB march I read that the indigenous people demanded REDD-money without the interference from the national state (CIDOB 2011), and yet in other settings I read statements rejecting REDD as a false solution to stop climate change, signed by CIDOB (e.g. Tiquipaya Declaration 2010).

When I arrived in Bolivia in January 2012 I heard little about REDD at all, the discussions in CIDOB centered on TIPNIS, and in Riberalta or Alto Ivon nobody mentioned anything about selling oxygen. Everyone in CIRABO seemed settled with letting REDD go on as a project supporting the harvesting of Brazil nuts and the making of forest management plans. Bardalen describes how FAN strived to make CIRABO and the decision-making bodies in TCO TIM II understand what REDD was about and the difference between CO^2 and oxygen (2011, 37-40).

This chapter deals with the mobility and scalability of a message. To help me understand how the "Green Economy"-message travels, I will use Tsing's understanding of what she calls a "package". She says that packages may "feature images, songs, morals, organizational plans or stories" (Tsing 2005, 226). She looks at it as a metaphor to understand how allegories travel and mobilize environmental activists around the world. In my material, I encountered confusion with whether a message as it travels is to be understood as an allegory or not.

"Mobility means nothing without mobilization" says Tsing (2005, 215) pointing at an important fact that the mobility of something is not enough for it to cause any effect. The fact/map/message/package also needs to mobilize when it has arrived in a new locality. Without mobilization mobility is useless.

This helped me to understand how important but nonetheless complex messages travel across distances touching different so-called levels or scales, like local, national or global (which are really only different places and dwellings in the landscape which may ascribe to other stories in other landscapes). This chapter discusses CIDOB and the internal preparation in the organization for the Rio+20 Conference in Brazil.

"Green Economy" was the big topic of discussion before the international Rio+20 Conference in Rio de Janeiro. It was highly controversial already at the outset within the UN, many countries were worried that only one of the three pillars of "sustainable development" (social,

economic, environmental, as decided in Rio de Janeiro twenty years earlier) would come into focus. United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) tried to mitigate the critique by defining "Green Economy" as something which:

> "results in **improved human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities**. In its simplest expression, a green economy can be thought of as one which is **low carbon, resource efficient and socially inclusive**." (UNEP 2013 original emphasis)

Bolivia stood out long before the conference as one of the strongest opponents to the concept. Bear in mind that no one was dependent on making people understand Green Economy in Bolivia in the same way that FAN was dependent on making indigenous leaders understand REDD as a part of a FPIC. However, I believe that this case demonstrates some of the dynamics that are involved when new concepts arrive at the scene.

5.1 Elaborations on the political landscape

To understand the discussions we are going to see, it is useful to lay out some of the features of the political landscape that CIDOB navigates by. Maybe unsurprisingly the messages we are going to follow are tweaked and turned, adapted and adopted according to expected and real features of this landscape. Therefore, it is important to explain the most important topics of discussion in the press and the indigenous movement at this time, April-June 2012. This is of course impossible without making political judgments along the way, but I will try to present it as neutrally as possible.

The VIII indigenous march, titled to save TIPNIS, was completed with temporary success in October 2011, with more than a thousand indigenous people entering La Paz received by massive public support. Some of that support was derived from the fact that the march had been violently attacked in Chaparina (a small village where the march camped a few days) by the police on 25th of September, an incident that made The Minister of Defense leave office in protest. The momentum of the march forced the government to accept the indigenous march's demands, and cancel the road building planned through the middle of TIPNIS. The protection of TIPNIS was legally adopted by a law that claimed the area "intangible", as demanded by the indigenous movement.

After a couple of months, and a counter-march made by peasants from around the TIPNIS area, a consultation process with the local population was on the agenda, which dramatically

increased the probability of the road project to start up again. The CIDOB board was early to declare that there was no need for a consultation process, since a unified indigenous movement had already given its opinion, which deemed the area intangible. CIDOB called for a new indigenous march to La Paz, to demand the respect of the intangibility law.

The government in turn started a counter-move by inviting the regional organizations (whom make up CIDOB, see Figure 2) to develop bilateral agreements. The agreements consisted of promises of road and bridge improvements in the TCOs, improvement of school facilities, improved health care availability and so forth (e.g. CIRABO and Bolivia 2012). What is understood, but not implied forthright, is that by entering into agreements with the government, the regional indigenous organizations agree to not participate in the CIDOB march. This will result in the undermining of the message of the upcoming march, about the respect of TIPNIS intangibility and changing the route where the TIPNIS road should be built[20].

These agreements did not only create conflict within CIDOB, they also created conflict within the regional organizations. Internally, in the regional organizations' members argued about whether or not the moral prize is too high to pay by accepting the agreements. The benefits from the agreements with the government were also unequally distributed between the different TCOs. In CIRABO for instance, TCO Chacobo-Pacahuara was promised a mobile phone mast, while other TCOs would only get a phone connection through one phone in the TCOs main village. This was also shaped by, and continued to polarize political biases internally within the organization.

5.2 Preparation

We are in CIDOB's large assembly room. In the middle of the floor, there are about 40 chairs, a bit disorganized. Most of them are occupied by indigenous representatives that have traveled here for the workshop, but many are empty. I arrive with a colleague, Cecilie Hirsch, a Norwegian PhD student, and we quickly notice that there are few representatives here from the central CIDOB board. There are also few presidents from the regional organizations.

[20] Reading the demands from the VIII march (CIDOB 2011), there is no reason to doubt that CIDOB mobilized significant numbers of regional organizations to the march based on a general dissatisfaction on the performance of the Morales government towards indigenous peoples. Many non-TIPNIS demands in the VIII march document are echoed in the bilateral agreements.

Cecilie and I figured many of them might wish to maintain a low profile because they lately have started to signal that they will not participate in the next march. In their stead were mostly indigenous representatives responsible for natural resources in their designate regional organization. It is a hot day in the middle of April and the air-conditioner runs at full speed without any significant effect; all of the windows and doors are open.

Juan Pablo Ramos is leading the workshop. He is a former Vice-Minister of Environment in the Bolivian government but withdrew from the position in protest to the TIPNIS road building plans in 2010. He is therefore considered to be an ally to the organization. However, he is affiliated with Universidad de la Cordillera, a small university that reminds me of a Norwegian multidisciplinary research center or institute doing commissioned research. They differ in that they have significantly more contact with the government than what I am used to from Norway. The rector of Universidad de la Cordillera is Diego Pacheco is also the head of the Bolivian negotiation team to the UNFCCC and Rio+20.

Along the right wall of the room there is a long horizontal stretch of white paper where a woman draws illustrations of the argument with colorful felt pens. Ramos starts his presentation by asking *"what is development for you?"* Everybody call out words. I have noted bridges, health care and schools in my scratch notes. He follows up by saying that everybody has their own perception of development. But development today has a specific history and linkages. Today's development is linked with modernity, which has 4 pillars; industrialization, capitalism, industrialization of war and control over social life.

The argument he continues to make goes along the lines of "dependency theory" (e.g. Allen and Thomas 2000). Simply put, dependency theory is a theory developed in Latin-America characterized as a critique of the growth-by-international-trade theory and the development-agenda of the West. The argument Ramos makes is that developed countries promote the increased trade of raw materials through technical and monetary aid, which is the only thing developing countries have to offer. This is meant to result in more foreign currency, which is supposed to lead to increased purchasing power of foreign services and goods, which is ultimately supposed to lead to improved wealth. Aid flows one way (technical expertise and investments), and cheap, unprocessed natural resources from the South flow the other way.

This "one-size-fits-all" solution signifies extraction and export of natural resources from the developing world for a low cost to the benefit of the developed world that processes them and

Figure 8 Illustration from CIDOB's Rio+20 workshop.

sells them at a higher cost (and gains the profit). Poor countries stay poor, and rich countries stay rich. Not only has "Growth-through-trade" led to financial crisis, environmental crisis, food crisis and climate crisis, he argues that Development would lead to a homogenization of the world's cultures and that there is a biased focus on science and technology to solve whatever problem instead of social transformation.

Furthermore, he argues that Green Economy is just a continuation of this trend. In fact "Green Economy" would lead to the privatization of natural capital and the further downsizing of the state to create "favorable" conditions for private green investments. As we can see in Figure 8 the forest (tagged with "CO^2-Bank" and "REDD") is growing and green but it is gated and inaccessible for ordinary people. Ramos' response would be "Vivir Bien", or "Living Well", as a critique to endless growth. The idea of developing along a philosophy of "Vivir Bien" is that with less focus on growth and more focus in redistribution and contact with nature it would be enough for everybody, without destroying "Mother Earth/Madre Tierra". Both "Living Well" and "Mother Earth" are concepts deriving from the Andean indigenous language quechua and aymara.

Here, we are presented with a large message; nothing less than an academically developed critique of a theory for development arriving with the aid of informative illustrations. Hiding between the lines are noble indigenous people and anti-democratic multinational companies. UNEP's definition of Green Economy was in there somewhere, but it by no means influenced the direction of the argument that was aiming towards a "no" to Green Economy.

Ramos drew a picture where CIDOB and indigenous people were part of one team in the global battle between developed and developing countries. Green Economy is presented as a global force that is threatening the culture and position of indigenous peoples in Bolivia, by taking their resources in the same breath as it is promoting an unclear idea of development. By evoking "Living Well" and "Mother Earth" he is mobilizing for a *national* counter-vision to *global* green economy. He is hoping to strengthen these terms by bringing CIDOB on board.

CIDOB's option was to choose the 'right' side in this conflict and oppose Green Economy. This would confirm their position as those who refused to be exploited and refused the commercialization of nature. However, in the responses in the discussion we saw that some members refused to conform to the reality that Ramos was depicting. Some reacted to "Vivir Bien", which is presented as a concept indigenous to Bolivia, but which really originates from the highlands.

Leonardo, the secretary for natural resources from CIRABO had his own view on the situation. "Green Economy, it's already a fact! We have to put something in there for us". He proposed to bring to Rio initiatives or projects that might be fruitful for CIDOB later in time. He argued that if it came from them they would have ownership and control. He also used an argument I knew well by now; that they had been dealing with REDD now for 3 years, and it was not more dangerous than any other aid project. It was nothing to fear! However, his suggestion did not seem to get much support. But neither did "Living Well". One attendee commented, "we live well (vivimos bien) in our territories, but we want to advance!"

After the plenary discussion we formed discussion groups to answer 4 questions that should create the foundation of the organization's position ahead of the conference. The questions written on the blackboard were

1. Do we agree with the commercialization of nature?
2. How will green economy affect the life of our communities?
3. How will green economy affect our harmony with nature?
4. If green economy is implemented, how will indigenous peoples' rights be broken?

After the group discussions the answers from each group were presented in plenary before the workshop closed. Ramos, together with a couple of indigenous representatives, developed the position paper together based on the answers given[21]. As described, there were many things happening at the same time in this workshop. Because of the limits of space and my lack of attention I am unable to report all of these elements here.

Considering Ramos' affiliation to Universidad de la Cordillera I view this workshop as a capacity building workshop to prepare the positions of CIDOB ahead of the Rio+20 conference, but also a diplomatic opportunity for the Bolivian negotiation team to strengthen the official Bolivian political position bringing on board one of country's social movements which are important in Bolivia's rhetoric internationally.

In the final positioning document the phrase "protection of the rights of la Loma Santa (Madre Tierra)" (CIDOB 2012, 3) is used. "La Loma Santa" means something like the holy hill. It is a fragile convergence between Madre Tierra and la Loma Santa. The concept is far less known. I have only seen the concept used occasionally in the TIPNIS debate and as an attempt by a NGO to mystify and link the indigenous Mojeño relation to the TIPNIS area (Ortiz Echazú 2010). Here it is told as an indigenous creation myth where the final goal of a long search is "la Loma Santa". With natural abundance, tranquility and protection from the valley the Mojeño had a safe place where they could settle and raise their children. Now this holy place is threatened by the government's road and coca-growers.

"La Loma Santa" was not mentioned by anybody throughout the workshop. However "disparate facts are turned into compatible ones through the process of generalization" (Tsing 2005, 89). To translate la Loma Santa, an indigenous concept of TIPNIS to Madre Tierra also offers potency as it is directed to the close relation between Evo Morales and his government (and their politics) and Madre Tierra. The heterogeneity of this position makes the

[21] Documents considered to be more important to CIDOB is written in plenary and signed by the indigenous representatives present with their personal stamp.

convergence fragile and contingent. It is an impudent, yet consensus seeking, move. If la Loma Santa makes the Mojeño connected to the TIPNIS area, it does definitively not connect CIDOB to the government's position. But from afar, the two becomes alike. It is a classic attempt at scale-making. With the purpose of having a clear message at the international conference, collaboration becomes possible.

By drawing long historical lines, and building up his argument by mobilizing many facts and pieces of information, Ramos tried to establish an immutable message. Even though the Green Economy definition is not faulty in and of itself, it represented a turn, a shift of focus in the wrong direction, the direction he had just drawn with a broad pencil. Visualization through colorful drawings became important in supporting such a complex line of argument, and I have to admit I was impressed. But how was the position going to be entrenched in the rest of the movement? Did the message mobilize? Was it mobile? The proof would appear where the information was about to be disseminated.

5.3 Consolidation

One week later Jorge, a staff member of CIDOB came to CIRABO's offices in Riberalta to inform CIRABO about the Rio+20 negotiations and have a discussion based on CIDOB's positions. We had also heard rumors that the president of CIDOB himself, Adolfo Chavez would show up to participate in the workshop. CIRABO had signed their agreement with the government in the last month, something that signaled that they would not support the present CIDOB board and join the march to La Paz in the defense of TIPNIS. It was obvious that Adolfo had come to ask for their participation.

He started to show images of the illustrations of Juan Pablo's arguments with a projector, and talk about green economy. But, once he started to get into the argument something didn't sound right. The actors had changed. Juan Pablo's developed countries had turned into the Bolivian government. And the developing countries had turned into Bolivia's indigenous peoples. It was the state that exploited raw material from the TCOs and the indigenous peoples only got crumbles back. After a while he started to talk louder and use more body language. "Look at this" he said, pointing towards one of the illustrations of polluting factories, "This is how they are going to do 'Vivir Bien'". A point he repeated sounded something like this: How can they say that they are going to defend the rights of "Madre

Tierra", it is we here in the lowlands that have the forest and the fertile soils, the government [in the highlands] they can go defend the rights of "Madre Piedra" (Mother Stone).

The government's priority towards the international meeting was going to be "*the Proposal for the Development of the Joint Mitigation and Adaptation Mechanism for the Integral and Sustainable Management of Forests"*[22], that the government was developing (mainly people from the University of Cordillera). He said that the government wanted the CIDOB to stand behind it but that they were resistant because they had not been included sufficiently in the process.

CIDOB's input to the proposal was based on the experiences from the REDD program, and Jorge argued that CIRABO should be included in the CIDOB delegation to Rio+20 because of their experiences with the REDD project, something that was endorsed by the CIRABO participants. Jorge commented that it still seemed to be the government's position that they would control the funding, e.g. not listen to the demands from the march the year before about compensation directly to the indigenous TCOs and organizations. Leonardo commented that REDD was like the devil to the government and that REDD was only concerned with selling carbon. But that was very different in their experience.

When that was said, the current REDD project came up. CIRABO participants were very dissatisfied. The project had been delegated 3 million dollars, but after three years, where had the money gone? The FAN Executive Director was flying from Santa Cruz whenever there was a meeting in Riberalta, while the indigenous leaders had to fight for every dime. FAN also had an extensive bureaucracy that ate all the money, at least that was the opinion of many. "We should be able to employ our own professionals", said one. "The NGOs only want to enrich themselves".

After this, Adolfo Chavez, the president of CIDOB held a formal and short introduction to Rio+20 before he asked CIRABO to join the march. He said they were not angry because of CIRABO's agreement with the government, and that the agreement shouldn't affect the organizational structure and consolidation of CIDOB. CIRABO president Huara Chavez

[22] As mentioned in the introduction this is a parallel climate and forest initiative that Bolivia promotes in international negotiations (UNFCCC and Rio+20) as an alternative to a market and carbon based REDD approach to forests and climate change.

declined the invitation on the behalf of the regional organization, and then all the leaders from the TCOs gave their position and view on the matter.

At the Rio+20 workshop in Riberalta Green Economy, Madre Tierra and Vivir Bien were blurred into a common enemy, even though they initially were proposed as a pair of oppositions. Mixed into everything were signs of pride from having experience with REDD, while the collaboration with REDD-partner FAN was dissatisfactory.

The package had indeed changed shape. Or, shall I say, it has become a package. Tsing (2005, 236) suggests that packages offer their intermediary "tools and frameworks to be political actors". For a package to be able to travel, it has to be detached from its embedded reality. Ramos' lecture was not so much a package as an attempt to create an immutable message. Unmoored and detached from that safe haven, the message had become a package. This is indeed a privilege of the oral message, that it can easily change shape across landscapes, and when it meets friction. Jorge used the message as a package to mobilize and to frame himself (on the behalf of CIDOB) as a political actor.

Someone or something had worked against indigenous peoples, and it had to be stopped. "Packages travel when they are translated in such a way as to form a significant intervention in a local scene" (Tsing 2005, 237). Jorge knew the organization and the particular ecological and political landscape well. He adopted and adapted the story in such a way as to increase its possibility to mobilize by evoking familiar images of a predatory state and other malfunctional Others. He sided with CIRABO in their claims about FAN as useless. He invited CIRABO to Rio+20 as they had important REDD-knowledge to contribute with. The state had also, until recently, been absent. Difredo tried to evoke scenes where indigenous peoples were useful idiots for government purposes. But, as I heard the CIRABO president say in a different meeting, *"we have been going to the municipality delivering our demands for years, but look now! The government is promising us all these things"*.

CIRABO *had* entered an agreement with the government and Jorge's attempt to "warm up" the assembly for Adolfo by using Ramos' speech transformed into a package, failed. Maybe CIRABO entered the agreement because the government was promising those things that indigenous people considered as *development*, like better roads, better access to health care and improved schools. There was no doubt that the CIRABO leadership, especially the president, was compromising their principles for their own benefit. After all they had

Figure 9 The Minister of the Presidency Juan Ramón Quintana, CIRABO's president Huara and the Mayor of Riberalta dancing a traditional Chacobo dance with young Chacobo girls in traditional dresses

participated in the previous march defending the autonomy of TIPNIS. From when the agreement with the government took place in March to June, when I left, I never witnessed a serious ideological attempt to rationalize the withdrawal from the TIPNIS march. What I heard were attempts to raise doubt about the legitimacy of the CIDOB leadership by questioning their political motives and affiliations.

The most interesting with regards to scale in the example is CIRABO. They are juggling the greatest number of interests and scales at the same time. They have broken out of line from CIDOB, who are supposed to act on their behalf nationally, and they are striking deals with the government. Juan Ramón Quintana, Minister of the Presidency, one of the most important persons in the Bolivian government, visited Alto Ivon to negotiate while I was there (Figure 9)! They are proud of their experience with REDD which we might interpret as an appreciation of the centers of abundance in the forest, but despise FAN, at least at this locality and scale (Riberalta), for taking money in their name.

It is tempting to propose that scale is irrelevant for the CIRABO leadership, that performative relations do matter and that they rather seek those relations and tenures that they see fruitful. The landscape is not divided into local, regional, national or international. It is places and

relations where one can harvest more or less. This can differ within the collaboration between the organizations according to different material and human interfaces. Alliances based on abstract enemies may be of little value if your main goal is to attain spaces that are harvestable.

Green Economy becomes a package that is meant to produce certain effects. The arguments, the good guys and the bad guys are readjusted to fit the situational political and ecological landscape. What matters is not to re-present a well-established and historically anchored argument supported by a diversity of facts and information, but to mobilize. Immutability is sacrificed for mobilization; to a large extend a benefit of oral communication. In this way foreign and newly introduced concepts are improvised and utilized to only to a certain extent represent itself, both in the CIDOB setting and CIRABO setting, and rather to support a mobilization for certain causes.

5.4 Participation

In the middle of June I left Bolivia and went to Rio de Janeiro to participate at the Rio+20 Conference. The conference was attended by over 50 000 people and included world leaders, social movements and activists spread across a range of fora and gatherings around in the city.

After having witnessed the careful work around CIDOB's position paper I wanted to see how this mandate was going to be fulfilled. As I had experienced CIDOB as a strong political force in Bolivia, I was curious about how well known they were internationally, and what kind of networks they had established.

I spent time with the CIDOB delegation, led by vice-president of CIDOB Doña Susanna. She and the others came straight from the IX CIDOB march which was now climbing towards La Paz to demand the halt of the TIPNIS road project, yet again. We spent most of our time at "the Peoples' Summit" in a huge park area where a range of social movements and activists were gathered. The location of the Peoples' Summit was 45 minutes to an hour's drive from the official negotiations. As the representative of one of the biggest indigenous peoples' movements at the summit, Doña Susanna was given several opportunities to speak. She used all her time to gather support for CIDOB's battle against TIPNIS among the participants at the indigenous peoples' caucus "Terra Livre", a main pillar of the Peoples' Summit,

belonging to a permanent debate arena. Much effort was also spent to defy and challenge the legitimacy of Evo Morales as a good representative for indigenous people in the world.

"The president of Bolivia is just a slovenly indigenous face. Because of the discrimination [that the government has exposed us for].They have treated us like savages, they have treated us as ignorants, they have treated us as analphabets, they have treated us like nomads […] they have violated us. But anyhow, President Evo Morales says he is the defender of the natural resources in the forests, and Mother Earth. But because of political and economic interests, he doesn't care. He is a hypocrite. He is…. We can even say this without shame; the cynicism [he possesses] is enough for all the brothers and sisters [present]." (Doña Susanna at Peoples' Summit Rio+20, my translation)

In the Bolivian press it was only communicated that the CIDOB team was in Rio de Janeiro "to denounce the 'violations' of their rights and the political interference they suffered from 25th of September last year" (ANF 2012 my translation).

… I want to ask you, if you can permit us please to show you what has been the massacre in the location Chaparina, which they say did not violate any rights (video in the background with amongst others pictures of crying women with handcuffs and men with bleeding wounds in their faces). The Minister of Defense is not a Minister of Defense, [he is] rather the Minster of Oppression. Because here [in Brazil] he who thinks differently… They say that in Bolivia he would immediately be hanged. (Doña Susanna at Peoples' Summit Rio+20, my translation)[23]

Much time was also spent with COICA (Coordinatora de las Organizaciones Indígenas de la Cuenca Amazonica), the Latin-American umbrella organization for indigenous people from the Amazon basin. They too had to be convinced to support the march. COICA was responsible for organizing and coordinating all the national movements, and to act as the spokesperson towards the official negotiations. Even when COICA announced their new Pan-Amazonian "REDD Indígena" initiative with a full day seminar at the Ford Foundation venue (an air-conditioned camp a bit hidden at the outskirts of the Peoples' Summit), Doña Susanna used her time to denounce Evo Morales and the TIPNIS road project.

Green Economy came up only once while we were in Rio. It was when Doña Susanna complained that she did not understand the concept, and that CIDOB's position document was unclear and unusable. She had not attended the workshop two months earlier.

[23] It should be added that the rest of the CIDOB delegation complained about this speech as they felt it became too aggressive and aggregated. The rhetoric in the following speeches was moderated.

At the Rio+20 Conference "Green Economy" was forfeited as a topic of discussion. CIDOB's top priority became the magnification of scale of the critique of the Morales regime and the TIPNIS road by using a language that suggested a situation of political censorship. Susanna even suggested that there were political assassinations' taking place in the country, something that has not been reported in the news or elsewhere. Why was it so?

I choose to call the situation a contribution to the "assembly of problems". I have experienced similar situations earlier in my "civil society"-career. I have experienced that national delegations from social movements, arriving at international platforms often advocate national causes. For example, take a look at the final "Terra Livre" declaration from the indigenous caucus at the Peoples' Summit (APIB et al. 2012). A bullet-point under "Repudiations" reads

> We reject major projects in indigenous territories, such as dams – Belo Monte, Jirau and others; transposition of Rio S. Francisco, nuclear power plants; Canal do Sertão, ports, national and international Highways, production of biofuels, the road within TIPNIS in Bolivia, and mining projects throughout Latin America. (APIB et al. 2012 translation by Earth Peoples)

As we saw during the CIRABO consultation on "Green Economy" Jorge used Green Economy as a package, by adjusting the actors to become allies and enemies of a particular cause that he was advocating. To an assembly of people and organizations which have suffered under structural oppression and fight unwanted megaprojects on their indigenous territories every day, to mobilize for a certain cause it the main priority, except an abstract term like Green Economy becomes useless as a tool. One might claim that Green Economy as a message or package had failed to mobilize. This is also reflected in the declaration, as Green Economy is given little attention but merely a nudge in the second to last sentence in the declaration: "Finally, it won't be the false solutions that are proposed by governments – the so-called green economy, that will pay off the debts of States with our people" (APIB et al. 2012 translation by Earth Peoples).

The quote above gives an impression of the dynamics in international meetings where a spectrum of social movements participates. By gathering stories, and acting as an open arena where the participants can speak about their challenges they establish an "assembly of problems". Building a declaration based on a broad variety of interests and contexts is difficult, especially when attempting to mobilize for foreign and vague concepts. In most cases it is easier to assemble those messages or packages that already mobilize.

In this case, as in any assembly (like the platforms of the TIPNIS marches, or FAN's maps), simplification and politicization takes place. The packages that are assembled carry traits that are interestingly similar to Jorge's mobilization of Green Economy; indigenous peoples that stand against state oppression from a state or multinational company, or the alliance of both. Taking a closer look at Doña Susanna's speech we find exactly the same traits. Her extreme rhetoric may suggest the same use of means as Jorge's; by adjusting the package to the political and ecological landscape and scale that she is addressing she hopes to amplify its effect. Brazilian indigenous organizations (whose representatives surpassed the absolute majority of the meeting), have fairly recently experienced assassination of an indigenous leader (BBC 2011). Doña Susanna's extreme rhetoric may also be a result of frustration, as Morales is perceived as a good indigenous representative by many, and was actively marketed as such during the Peoples' Summit.

It is by inscribing and sharing problems carried across different temporalities, landscapes and places that the indigenous caucus assumes its position as International. Stories and messages gathered from many places may give the effect of pointing towards patterns of various kinds. More work is necessary to assemble these packages. Interpreters translate across languages and the spokespersons, as we have seen, also stretch the packages as a part of mounting a campaign for a particular configuration of scale (Tsing 2000, 327). However, as we have also seen, the assembly I witnessed in Rio was composed a majority of Brazilian representatives, very few activists were from other countries. Only Latin American organizations signed the declaration.

Another reason why these meetings often become an "assembly of problems" might be that the effect of raising international concern about one's cause in their home country is seen as more important than the possibility/value of affecting the outcome of the official negotiations. However, the message of "international" support made it to only a few conservative, anti-Morales newspapers in Bolivia (El Dia 2012, El Diario 2012).

Finally, the "Terra Livre" declaration also contained positive formulations of Mother Earth and Living Well; "We advocate and defend plural and autonomous forms of lives, inspired by the model of Living Well, where Mother Earth is respected and cared for," (APIB et al. 2012 translation by Earth Peoples). As long as the opposition against Morales was voiced, and the TIPNIS demand was included in the document, the resistance to Mother Earth disappeared. After all, the term was accounted for as La Loma Santa in their preparatory position paper.

5.5 Social movements and mobilizations

A social movement can be understood as a group of people with common interests, who are unified by a social, cultural or economic common identity, and who are able to create momentum for their cause by the strength of their numbers and organizational skills. They are at times able to fight the strong political and/or economic forces that benefits from keeping the situation a status quo (Touraine 1985). What can be drawn from the experience of following the Rio+20 processes in CIDOB is that to be able to gather, to assemble such a movement, depends on the charisma and the reflexive sociality of the packages and the messengers that attempt to mobilize the necessary numbers.

To try to figure out what has happened since having followed the Rio+20 process; preparations, organizational consolidation and then participation at the summit, has been a difficult task. The material seems to pull outwards in unimaginable directions. To capture it, to add to it a perspective which seem to grasp the nature of its dynamic has proven to be difficult. There is no inherent logic; there is no continuum of consistency in the way the "Green Economy" has been treated.

As I have tried to demonstrate, Green economy can at best be understood as a catalyst for other agendas, colored by already existing conflict lines and problems. A more cynical interpretation might be to see these meetings as not having anything at all to do with involvement and participation in international debates about "Green Economy", but that the fora provided along the way are utilized for other purposes.

One thing is certain, to be able to create momentum, a cause/message/package needs to be mobile, and have the ability to mobilize. What this story demonstrates may be that Green Economy as such was too abstract or vague, and/or too complicated to be mobile within the indigenous peoples' movements that I have been following. Lack of mobility has been replaced with mobilization. The traits of the package were changed until they were unrecognizable at every joint, so that mobilization became possible. But, if we break down the elements of the package, we see that they are all consisting of similar foundational elements. Those elements where defenders of principles and the "Good" stand against those that are predatory and bad because of economic interests or other delusions. From this starting point many arguments are used and misused in attempts to adjust or mobilize certain configurations or understandings of scale.

Tsing says that

> "…packages travel when they are unmoored from contexts of culture and politics from which they emerged and reattached as allegories within the culture and politics of those with the institutional strength to spread the word". (2005, 234)

If that is true there is no doubt that CIDOB, with its organizational capacities and spokespersons, are the ones that have colored the travel of the information package from the offices and workshops at indigenous offices in Bolivia to the international rostrums for indigenous peoples. The Green Economy became unmoored from the development critique and reattached to the battle of TIPNIS. Before arriving at the Rio+20 Summit there was already no Green Economy left, only a critique of a presidential indigenous spokesperson that has lost his principles and allied with the bad guys ("political and economic interests" or maybe Development?). While the IX march moves uphill towards La Paz and regional organizations fall from the the movement one by one, while striking deals with the government, they see the political room for intervention tighten and bringing new allies on board becomes increasingly important; the distribution of packages more intense.

In the introduction I pointed toward the fact that REDD was communicated differently from different platforms and that the "real" position of the different actors on REDD was difficult to understand from afar. A tool like Tsing's "package" can aid in understanding how and why this came to be. By tracing the trajectory of the package, rather than only anchoring it to the two traditional ways of understanding the emergence of politics (derived from the country's history or the global "flow of ideas"), we can see that the package's travel through temporalities and landscapes affect its content (Tsing 2005, 216). Its articulation differs from the set of relations that occur where it is attempted to mobilize, and by the political preferences of the institutions with the sufficient muscles to spread the word.

We have seen that a complex idea has been unmoored and ultimately attached to other institution's preferences, to be presented in other spatial settings with the same rhetorical means, but different implications. This suggests that, across time and space a complex message with many carefully established dispositions, REDD might not be only perceived wrongly, it might be presented as something different than what is desired or intended by the "originator". This will not necessarily work to the disadvantage to the evangelists of REDD, as REDD might be assembled into the line and adopted as an argument of larger struggles taking place in a political ecological landscape.

"If I owned a flower, I could pluck that flower and take it away with me. But you cannot pluck the stars from heaven. . . "
"No. But I can put them in the bank."
"Whatever does that mean?"
"That means that I write the number of my stars on a little paper. And then I put this paper in a drawer and lock it with a key."
"And that is all?"
"That is enough," said the businessman.

(de Saint-Exupery 1943, 39)

6 Conclusions – Political struggles in the Bolivian forest landscape

In the introduction I wrote that the light of REDD "is variously reflected from the deep of the indigenous Amazon, from social movements, position papers, and from the offices of the foreign ministries of Bolivia and towards international geo-politics creating a colorful spectacle where actions, opinions and strategies leave a complex mosaic to be interpreted." I hope this thesis has adequately presented and interpreted some of these reflections in a trustworthy manner.

In this thesis I have aimed to cover much ground; I have connected close encounters with trees and animals along traces deep inside the Bolivian Amazon to "global" decision-making platforms like Rio+20. Visualizations and inscriptions, messages and packages derived from sensory, social and material interfaces seem to connect these overlapping spaces of political and ecological landscapes. National organizations like CIDOB travel to Rio de Janeiro to be heard in Bolivia, while "local" spokespersons shake hands with presidents and dance traditional dances with a minister. Arising from the relations that they forge, we can see the contours of different understandings of spaces and places; which do not take the global → local for granted, but critically analyze how scales are made, mobilized, and communicated.

We have seen some of the preconditions that have enabled productive scale-making relationships to be established in the Bolivian landscape, such as the foundation that makes up FAN's way to handle others by being noble managers and the way Chacobo people use space in a similar way to the forest inventory, and structure their relation to others into harvest and/or predation.

FANs spaces are leveled spaces of panoptic disciplining and control. By establishing centers of abundance, FAN enters into relationships with indigenous peoples and municipal officials. They understand others as actors with economic interests, and only by channeling these interests in more sustainable directions can Nature be saved. As noble managers they try to discipline the actors that they have closest ties with; indigenous peoples.

The CIRABO leadership's spaces are landscapes of potential harvests, autonomy and self-determination. By entering productive relationships with humans and non-humans in spaces

tamed by traces the Chacobo and CIRABO do not consider scale a relevant hindrance. At one level, FAN is denounced as a bureaucratic burden that spends money in the name of the indigenous peoples, at the same time they harvest along the forest inventory lines of the same REDD program in a closely interlinked landscape. In other interfaces they abandon their own indigenous movement while they seek new potential harvests by striking deals with the county's government. By treating outsiders as infinite sources of wealth, act independently and shirk their obligations they reproduce themselves as a marginal group.

Key words in the thesis are immutability, inscriptions, messages and packages. All of these words are concerned with mobilization and movement. FAN produces inscriptions in networks with technology and indigenous people, which allow manageability and subordination. To achieve a panoptic oversight a range of simplifications are made. Chaotic connections of landscapes and actors are leveled out to accommodate for the agency of the spectator in the panoptic tower. By inviting municipal and governmental forest officials to the panoptic tower FAN aims to gain allies to discipline deforestation, this strategy has failed thus far. However, FAN mobilizes impressive documentation, maps and diagrams of manageable entities in an attempt to politicize and alter the compositions and functions of the landscape. Countable and measurable indicators are developed to potentially result in transference and trade of agency across wider distances. Ecosystems become contingent, countable stocks that can be invested in.

CIDOB tries to connect disparate spaces by mobilizing political localities in epic tales of good versus bad. Mobility and mobilization also have become keywords in the functioning of the social movement CIDOB. But, where immutable inscriptions are transferred across space to signify agency for FAN, packages become the trade of CIDOB. With packages, mobility is central, but mobilization takes precedence. In the packages it is easier to reveal who the 'good guys' and the 'bad guys' are compared to FANs inscriptions which appear neutral, manageable and immutable. However, the actor's roles may be articulated differently in different interfaces, depending on what configuration of scale is attempted to be mobilized for by the messenger.

Now, what does REDD do in these landscapes and connections? REDD and its role in the Bolivian Amazonian landscape can be understood as a "package" as described by Tsing (2005). Unmoored from its immutable diagrams and economic rationalities it enters struggles between the already positioned actors for control over and access to the Bolivian landscape.

FAN assembles more facts, maps and diagrams to promote it. By entangling more powerful actors into the moral and rationale of disruptive deforestation, patterns of dots representing forest fires lead to the degradation of colors on maps, they are hoping to mobilize other agencies.

CIDOB mobilizes REDD in their struggle to increase independence. By unraveling it through translations across differing landscapes REDD is reattached to allegories signifying opposition and autonomy. As autonomous watchers of the forest, indigenous peoples are within their right to harvest the fruits of its functioning.

The government seems to mobilize in order to counterstrike. The rulers of "Madre Piedra" are worried about the control over "Madre Tierra". The Vice-President of Bolivia, Álvaro García Linera, says about the Bolivian Amazonian landscape that

> "the despotic haciendal [patron] order predominates and neither the indigenous organizations, nor the peasant organizations or trade-unions of new origin have achieved to establish a counteractive force that can break up the haciendal system" (García Linera 2012, 25-26 my translation)

And that

> "in the first world NGOs can form a part of civil society – in most cases financed by transnational companies –, in the third world like in the case of Bolivia, most NGOs are not really NON Governmental Organizations, they are rather Other Governments' Organizations in Bolivia" (García Linera 2012, 27 my translation)

To suggest that the many NGOs who are working in the Bolivian Amazonian landscape are actually promoting the interests and agendas of foreign governments, and that they do this in coordination with private interests is a quite drastic statement to be made by any country's Vice-President. There were no proofs of any type of cooperation between, in my case FAN, and private domestic or foreign companies during my fieldwork. However we have seen that FAN also attracts their financing from public bodies and funds abroad. The actions of creating a carbon baseline, and to lay indigenous territories under regimes of natural resource management may suggest that there is something right to García Linera's claims. If the area ever became subdued to an international carbon-trading REDD scheme other governments and companies would be able to buy guaranties that would limit the scope of action for other actors in the Amazonian landscape. Indigenous peoples in the area stand firm on their position to territorial autonomy (something that will be undermined if the government's road plans in TIPNIS go through), but their means to control their own territories and resources seem to

fade when the products from the harvest evaporate from the social material realm of the landscape onto papers and maps in cities.

However, there is no reason to accept the Vice-President's claims as truer than others. They too need to be studied from the place in the landscape where the Vice-President's space receives its essence (Tilley 1994, 13). It is tempting to suggest that the difficulties that FAN have had establishing relationships with official bodies and authorities in Riberalta and elsewhere is explained by the Vice-Presidents views, but this requires further research. Further research is also needed on the actions and alliances of the private sector that benefits from deforestation. It has occurred to me that FAN and the Bolivian government have many overlapping interests in taming this "despotic haciendal order" of these domestic and foreign companies, something that García Linera completely overlooks in his book.

One thing I am sure of; the struggles between shifting alliances in the overlapping and conflicting spaces and landscapes of the Bolivian Amazon will continue in many years to come.

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